JIMMY CARTER'S CANDOR ADAM CLYMER

THE NATION

FEBRUARY 7, 1976 50 cents

Vadillo, El Sol de Mexico

8-77
The Sherrod Library
Periodicals Dept.
E.Tennessee St. Univ
Johnson City, Tn. 37601
AG

THE CLANDESTINE ESTABLISHMENT

Intelligence: The Test for Congress
REP. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

How I Became a Security Risk
VERN L. BULLOUGH

COMMON SENSE AND CUBA
SEN. GEORGE McGOVERN

Gerald or Ronald?
WINTER BOOK ON THE GOP
HOWARD L. REITER

The Unsettling of America (Part I) Wendell Berry

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIALS

The Spanish Treaty

The new five-year "Treaty of Friendship" which the United States has signed with Spain represents a distinct gain for the new regime of King Juan Carlos I and poses serious political and military risks for this country. Under its terms Spain will receive $1.22 billion in credits and grants, about twice what it would willingly have accepted last October. Even though it does not formally commit this country to defend Spain against attack, and thus stops short of the commitment given NATO members, the status of our understanding with Spain has been raised since it is now cast in the form of a treaty. Not only are we morally obligated—the assurance is Kissinger's—to assist Spain in case it should be attacked but the proposed treaty, as he emphasized at the signing ceremonies in Madrid, makes clear "the political importance that we attach to Spain." Under the new agreement, the United States undertakes not to stock nuclear materials at any of its bases and to remove ten Poseidon-class submarines from the Rota naval base between January and July 1979.

As both parties see it, the timing of the ostentatious signing ceremony was propitious. The American commitments, stated and implied, were doubtless intended to bolster the new regime which, after being in power a little more than two months, is already faced with mounting pressures to ease the repression. That the agreement is cast in the form of a treaty implies that Kissinger is confident the Senate will ratify it, now that Franco is dead—as a way, it will no doubt be argued, to encourage a relaxation of controls. It will also help Kissinger further the impression that he is more willing today than in the past to consult the Senate. Senators Clark and Tunney had introduced a resolution calling for presentation of the new agreement as a treaty; thus Kissinger's action gives the appearance of yielding to the suggestion. From the Secretary's point of view the treaty's price, while steeper than it might have been at an earlier date, is still not exorbitant. To him a mere billion is a bagatelle. The "denuclearization" provisions will, as he sees it, help insure ratification; in any case they are largely meaningless. As early as 1973, the Navy had initiated plans to pull the submarines out of the Rota base, since nuclear missiles no longer need to be as close to their intended targets as was once the case. At the same time the new regime can point to these provisions—and the fact that the agreement is now cast in the form of a treaty—as important "concessions." Domestic critics have been charging that the presence of the submarines made Spain a potential target without the protection of specific security guarantees.

So much for the strategy, but is it sound? At the moment Kissinger no doubt has assurance of enough votes in the Senate to secure ratification. But it will be some weeks before the Senators can consider the treaty and the debate may well be protracted; thus it may be fall before a vote is taken. Meanwhile, the situation can change. Our financial backing and promised "moral" support may not bolster the new regime; it could have the opposite effect. And while the regime has the military power to suppress overt action—and is quite capable of using it—it cannot quiet the current unrest without making significant concessions. The more it concedes, the harder it will be pressed for further reforms. Some advantage might be gained if it acted promptly but, given right-wing opposition, the regime cannot control the timing of whatever concessions it is prepared to offer. Recent reports from Spain (*The New York Times*, January 19) indicate that "a vast psychological change" has come over large segments of the population and that "a new boldness" has emerged. After forty years of repression, people are striking, marching, and sounding off; nor is this trend likely to be checked, except perhaps temporarily. It will not be reversed.

It is difficult, therefore, to escape the conclusion that the price Kissinger has been willing, even eager, to pay for the new agreement may prove excessive in the end. Militarily, the naval and air bases are not worth the money that has been extorted, notably at a time when cutbacks are the order of the day. The political price tag is even more indefensible. Not only are we committed to provide the new regime with substantial financial aid but we are "morally" obligated to assist it against attack—which implies that we would provide support in case of a domestic upheaval. This consideration cannot be brushed aside. It will be noted with concern throughout Europe and will long echo in Spanish memories.

Morally the new agreement is—or should be—repulsive; once again we are backing a cruelly repressive regime which to date has shown little inclination or ability to relax the controls Franco imposed. So the Senate should closely examine and carefully debate the treaty in all its military, political and moral implications. It should be scrutinized in the context of the widely recognized need for a new foreign policy based on realistic assumptions and capabilities. Individual Senators have huffed and puffed about the cavalier manner in which that body's role in treaty negotiations and foreign policy generally has been downgraded; now they have a chance to prove that they mean business. But it would be a mistake to assume that the Senate, without a lot of prodding, will give this treaty the prudent and painstaking consideration it deserves. It would help if the House, which also does not like to be ignored on important foreign policy issues, could be induced to get into the act. Only if Senate and House critics concert their actions will enough pressure be generated to force the administration to withdraw this new and dangerous commitment to a despicable regime. *Carey McWilliams*

Intelligence Con Game

The scandalous, dangerous behavior of American intelligence agencies has been so thoroughly documented that few citizens can any longer doubt the size and nature of the menace they pose to our institutions. The question now is how to bring them under some kind of control, and the Ford administration is engaged in open warfare against Congressional efforts toward that end.

The strategy is simple. It is to attack Congress frontally, picturing it as a bunch of unreliable self-seekers who will give away all our "secrets" for partisan or personal advantage, thus crippling American foreign policy. Last week's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

battle was over the allegation that the House Select Committee on Intelligence had "leaked," with sinister intent, a preliminary version of its own report.

Since dozens of copies of that report were floating around Washington, a good question is which branch of the government had more reason to make it public. Would it be Congress, struggling for some form of control, or at least "oversight," over the intelligence establishment, and aware that another "leak" would not help its case against an executive branch determined to hang onto the power that comes from exclusive possession of secret information? Or would it more likely be the Executive, pulling a "dirty trick" of the kind taught in the CIA's kindergarten by itself leaking the document and blaming Congress? The denial of responsibility by William Colby, the departing CIA chief, must fall short of proof of innocence, given his and the agency's reputation for veracity.

The obstacles to any real control of the intelligence agencies and their covert operations departments are formidable. These organizations are situated at the very center of the apparatus that exercises the power of the United States. As Rep. Michael Harrington writes in this issue, "The CIA is a major overseas operational arm of the executive's conduct of foreign policy." Garry Wills, in *The New York Review of Books* (January 22), calls the CIA "the action arm of the Imperial President," adding that it is "silly" to expect any President to control the CIA, since it is "his own means of *escaping* control."

It is not too much to say that we are already in a new era of activist "intelligence," one that could be called the age of proxy intelligence wars. In the hearings of the Pike committee of the House, Mitchell Rogovin, a lawyer for the CIA, made a bold claim of legality for this kind of operation. Pike had asked him whether he thought there was anything to "prevent the CIA from hiring individuals to fight a war without the approval required by the War Powers Act." The cool, and chilling, reply from the CIA attorney was that indeed there was nothing, that "all the War Powers Resolution does is require the President to consult with Congress before introducing [American] servicemen into hostilities." The CIA, of course, fought exactly that kind of proxy war in Laos, and now we are told that, despite Congress's efforts to get a handle on these operations, it is all quite legal. This specter is what made Senator Eagleton try (and fail) to amend the War Powers Act in 1973 to include "civilian combatants" in its limitations on Presidential action. It is only slightly reassuring that both houses of Congress have now voted to deny funds for covert operations to help our faction in Angola.

Congress may indeed be a weak reed to lean upon, but it is the only reed we have. Last week we were told that Senator Jackson had coached the CIA on how to deal with the Church committee's investigation (which he lamely denies). Senator Symington, accused of offering a helping hand to former CIA Director Helms when he was facing hostile questioning in Congress, is forced to ask us to rely on his "good name" in refuting the charge.

It is clear that the administration is offering Congress a deal: limited access to the doings of the "intelligence community" in exchange for a kind of official secrets act. It is a bad deal, one which Congress should sharply reject. Far better, as Harrington suggests, to keep the hearings going

IN THIS ISSUE

February 7, 1976

EDITORIALS

130
133 Common Sense and Cuba — *Sen. George McGovern*

ARTICLES

134 Jimmy Carter's Candor — *Adam Clymer*
135 Gerald or Ronald? Winter Book on the GOP — *Howard L. Reiter*

THE CLANDESTINE ESTABLISHMENT
138 Intelligence: The Test for Congress — *Rep. Michael Harrington*
140 How I Became a Security Risk — *Vern L. Bullough*

142 Echeverria's Mexico: Reacting to Big-Stick Diplomacy — *Stanley Meisler*
145 Chavez and the Farm Law: Time Running Out in the Fields — *Ronald B. Taylor*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

149 The Unsettling of America (Part I) — *Wendell Berry*
150 You'll See; Without Knowledge (poems) — *Etta Blum*
151 Barker-Benfield: The Horrors of the Half-Known Life — *Peter Dreyer*
152 Sleep, After Ray Charles Show and Hurricane Report (poem) — *Heather McHugh*
153 Just: Nicholson at Large — *Alan Cheuse*
154 Contest for New Poets
155 Films — *Robert Hatch*
156 Television — *Peter Sourian*
158 Records — *David Hamilton*

Publisher
JAMES J. STORROW Jr.

Editor
BLAIR CLARK

Associate Publisher
LINDA EDER STORROW

Executive Editor
ROBERT HATCH

Literary Editor
EMILE CAPOUYA

Western Representative
GIFFORD PHILLIPS

Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, GRACE SCHULMAN; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, LAWRENCE ALLOWAY; Music, DAVID HAMILTON; Dance, NANCY GOLDNER; Architecture, JANE HOLTZ KAY; Science, CARL DREHER; Advertising Manager, MARY SIMON.

Washington, ROBERT SHERRILL; U.N., ANNE TUCKERMAN; Latin America, PENNY LERNOUX; London, RAYMOND WILLIAMS; Paris, CLAUDE BOURDET; Bonn, C. AMERY; Jerusalem, HERBERT KROSNEY; Canberra, C. P. FITZGERALD.

The Nation is published weekly (except for first week in January, and bi-weekly in July and August) by the Nation Company and copyright 1976 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10014. Tel: CH 2-8400. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Price: One year $17.50; two years, $30. Add $1 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $2 other foreign.

Change of Address: It is essential that subscribers ordering a change of address give four weeks' notice and provide their old as well as their new address. Please give Zip Code numbers for both addresses.

Manuscripts. All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Book Review Index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

THE NATION

Volume 222
No. 5

FEB 1976

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this year until a new Congress and administration can "give serious attention to the meaning and scope of oversight and the true reform of the intelligence community."

Pressure on Israel

Once it had used its veto in the United Nations Security Council to protect Israel from a new attack on its integrity, the Ford-Kissinger administration apparently felt the time had come to put new pressure on the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The timing is curious: word that Mr. Ford will ask Congress for nearly $500 million less of military aid for Israel in the next fiscal year than he requested for the present year came on the eve of Rabin's state visit to Washington.

The size of the current year's appropriation for Israel, about to be passed by Congress, is $2.25 billion. It was put that high, as *The New York Times*'s Bernard Gwertzman delicately put it, because it "evolved out of Israel's willingness, under American pressure, to sign a new Sinai agreement with Egypt last summer." That sum, plus the presence of American technicians manning electronic warning devices at the Sinai mountain passes, was the price Israel, quite reasonably, exacted from Washington.

Ford and Kissinger now want something in return from Israel, and the word is that the Israelis are shocked by the price they are being asked to pay. They thought they had assurances that military aid would be kept at the current level, though the administration denies that it ever gave such assurances. Apparently we do not intend to cut Egypt's stipend, currently $750 million, which is another strong hint to Israel that it should prepare to make further concessions to its Arab neighbors and enemies.

It is reasonable to ask whether this reduction in American support for Israel, coming just at this time, will have the desired effect. Since the diplomacy of the Middle East will now probably move back to Geneva (with the status of the Palestinians still unclear), the question is whether an Israel which feels militarily weakened will be more or less likely to negotiate seriously on territorial and Palestinian questions. The Ford-Kissinger view is evidently that this is just the moment for a turn of the screw on the hard-line Rabin government.

There are indeed signs that Rabin is under increasing pressure at home to ease his negotiating position, and the recent meeting of European socialist leaders, once the staunchest supporters of Israel and its cause, gave signs of weakening support in that quarter. But American friends of Israel, and that should mean all of us, can question the timing and judgment involved in the proposed reduction of military aid. It is a high price to pay for that veto in the U.N. Security Council.

Saving Death Valley

Death Valley no longer belongs to the world of the pioneering prospector and his twenty-mule team. Visitors to Dante's View (elev. 5,475) in the national monument can still gaze in one sweep at distant mountains and the nation's lowest point, Bad Water. When they do so, however, the view is interrupted by the Tenneco Boraxo Pit mine, a mile long and a mile wide, including waste dumps, clouds of dust from the open pit and convoys of trucks, moving their mineral cargo out for sale.

Tenneco began strip mining in 1971 on claims formerly held by the United States Borax Corp. "Although it did at first, Tenneco no longer tries to reduce the impact of the huge waste dumps," Chuck Williams wrote in the mid-December issue of *Not Man Apart*, the newspaper of Friends of the Earth. "The open pits are only filled enough to get the trucks out."

The conglomerate's disruption of Death Valley evidently encouraged several talc-mining companies to begin like operations in the monument. The Park Service attempts to zone the most scenic areas out of the companies' reach or at least to impose strict mining regulations on their activities have been rejected by the administration in Washington.

Tenneco's incursion into the monument also seems to have prompted the introduction by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D., Mont.) and Rep. John Seiberling (D., Ohio) of two bills to halt further despoliation of Death Valley and five other federal park areas. Seiberling's bill would give the Secretary of the Interior regulatory power which he now lacks over park resources; Metcalf's would require a three-year moratorium on mineral development while the Secretary presents to Congress an analysis of existing claims.

The prospect of regulation seems to have spurred the mineral seekers to accelerate their mining. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, members of the Park Service's Western regional advisory committee say there has been a "massive increase" in operations. The committee has accused the mining companies of "racing . . . to take over and strip- or open-pit-mine large areas in the most scenic portions of the national monument before the government can act."

The Death Valley area includes land lower, hotter and drier than any in the United States. Its scientific and recreational value is incalculable, yet its resources are being hacked away in chaotic fashion. A timely moratorium on mining, an inventory of resources and rules that make sure the public benefits from environmentally sound exploitation are essential. Death Valley is a landscape almost as strangely beautiful as the valleys of the moon, and as monument Supt. Jim Thompson has said: "The worst part of this is that the scars, once made, will never heal."

Paul Robeson

The death of the great actor and singer Paul Robeson is an occasion to remind ourselves of what he was—and what he might have been. His career on the stage was successful, even triumphant, but the story of what he went through, here and abroad, tells much about how hard and humiliating was the life of even a talented American black man in the last three-quarters of a century.

Robeson was once provocatively asked why he did not go to live in the Soviet Union, a country he often visited and extravagantly praised. (American blacks can hardly be asked, "Why don't you go back where you came from if you don't like it here?," since they had no say in their coming to these shores.) Robeson's proud reply was, "Because my father was a slave, and my people died to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

build this country, and I am going to stay right here and have a part of it, just like you."

Paul Robeson went on the stage only after he had managed to obtain a college education and a law degree, and his record was distinguished both academically (Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers) and athletically (all-American football twice). His father, born in the South in 1848, had put himself through one of the few colleges open to blacks in those days, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and had become a Presbyterian minister in Princeton. It is doubtful that the son would have made it through Rutgers (where some of his teammates at first brutally stomped him to keep him off their team) or Columbia Law School if he had not been an athletic star: sports are still one of the easier routes for blacks to American-style success. What if Paul Robeson had wanted to use his proven mental abilities to become a great lawyer instead of employing his magnificent voice and physical presence to become a brilliant performer? A comparable career would have been unlikely.

Even on the stage, his greatest triumphs were not in his own country but in Europe. That is not to say he was unappreciated at home, but his success in America was largely as a singer of spirituals, a traditional role for blacks and one that the culture could comfortably accept. "What always seemed too much for Paul," a high school classmate recalls, "was that in this country they always wanted him to sing spirituals"—especially that sentimental Broadway version of the spiritual, *Ol' Man River*. No wonder he felt more at home in countries that accepted him as a man and artist, without the American cultural deformation.

What Robeson experienced and saw all around him radicalized his views. In the 1930s that usually meant great sympathy for post-revolutionary Russia and a certain unwillingness to see the country of Lenin and Stalin as it really was. Naturally, Robeson became a prime target for the witch hunters of the cold war.

Late in his life, American society began making amends to Paul Robeson. Rutgers gave him an honorary degree and its president, Edward J. Bloustein, did his best to get him admitted to the Football Hall of Fame (where the same kind of political considerations that caused boxing scandalously to block the career of Muhammad Ali were undoubtedly at work). At a tribute to him in Carnegie Hall in New York on his 75th birthday, Coretta King said that Robeson had been "buried alive" because he had "tapped the same wells of latent militancy" as had her husband.

Paul Robeson was not there to hear these words of praise and expiation. He was old and ill and living as a recluse in Philadelphia, alone with a justified pride. Extreme suffering makes for extreme politics, which is not to presume to offer an apology for the views of this extraordinary man. Abroad, Paul Robeson was seen as a great American. At home, he was an American black, however famous.

COMMON SENSE AND CUBA

SEN. GEORGE McGOVERN

The Ford-Kissinger diplomacy toward Cuba is not worthy of a great nation. We ought to be confident enough to conduct diplomatic and commercial intercourse even with nations whose policies sometimes irritate us.

It is a mistake to continue the boycott of Cuba because we do not approve of Cuba's engagement in Angola. I think Cuba is badly advised to involve its troops in the civil war there, just as I believe we were wrong to intervene in the Vietnamese civil conflict and to send our arms into the Angolan struggle.

But these factors have only limited relevance to the question of whether it is in our interest to recognize the Cuban Government and lift the embargo on trade. Cuba has no interest in purchasing arms from us, but it would like to buy cars, trucks, appliances, shoes, clothing, medicine, dairy products and meat. In return, it would like to sell us sugar, cigars and other products. We may not like Cuban policy in Angola any more than they liked our policy in Vietnam, but such questions should be resolved at the international conference table.

It should be noted that Russia, China and South Africa have all been involved to varying degrees in Angola. The Soviets and the Cubans are helping the MPLA Angolan faction, while the United States, South Africa and China have lined up with the FNLA and UNITA factions. Only China had the good sense to extricate itself before local resentments got out of hand—as they did against first the French and then us in Vietnam. But the point is that we have not broken relations with Russia, China or South Africa because they have interfered in Angola. Nor did many other countries break relations with us even though they were appalled for years by our tragic course in Indochina. Why then do we single out Cuba with demands for neutrality that we have not insisted upon for others and that we have rejected for ourselves?

For fifteen years we have tried to bring down the Cuban Government by an airtight trade embargo, by diplomatic boycott, and even by sordid efforts apparently organized by the CIA to assassinate Prime Minister Castro and other Cuban leaders. With both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Ford making highly publicized missions to Peking and Moscow—one suspects to bolster their prestige at home—one wonders why we maintain our unyielding stand toward Cuba.

To whatever extent Cuba is under Soviet influence in Angola and elsewhere, it is possible that we could reduce that influence if we ourselves would stop turning our backs on the Cubans. Indeed, if we had been more closely related to Cuba in recent months, they might not now be fighting in Angola. From the vantage point of common sense, economics and diplomacy, we should be moving to normalize our relations with Cuba—not because we are looking for a love affair but because it is the only reasonable course for two neighboring nations who will gain mutually from renewed relationships.

We have already benefited from Mr. Castro's refusal to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cooperate with airline hijackers who once took their commandeered planes to Cuba. Last year, after Senator Sparkman and I intervened on its behalf, Southern Airways received from the Cuban Government $2 million that had been taken to Cuba by hijackers. We, in turn, have relaxed certain restrictions against other countries that trade with Cuba. Now the time has come for us to lift at least the embargo against the sale of medicine and food to Cuba. Indeed, continued steps to normalize commercial relations between our two countries is an idea whose time is long overdue.

I intend to press early this year for public hearings by the Foreign Relations Committee on the issues of Cuban-American relations.

JIMMY CARTER'S CANDOR

ADAM CLYMER

Des Moines

Jimmy Carter wasn't the only winner in Iowa. The Catholic Church did pretty well at helping him and hurting Sargent Shriver in the state's 2,530 Democratic precinct caucuses on January 19. And Carter, although proclaimed a front runner by NBC and getting a major publicity boost that should help him in New Hampshire (though it did no good five days later in Mississippi), lost a little bit, too.

The Church triumphed by using the abortion issue to send Catholics to their caucuses in support, not of Shriver, who had expected considerable Catholic assistance, but of Carter, a "born-again Christian" whose opposition to abortion makes up in earnest feeling what it lacks in detailed consideration. But, by seeming to talk out of both sides of his mouth, and by displaying a shallowness of understanding on a very emotional issue, Carter created some problems for his candidacy. He sharpened the inevitable close examination that his staff expected would follow whatever event transformed him in the public mind from an interesting new face to a serious Democratic contender. They expected it, but neither he nor they did much to get ready for it.

The abortion issue should not be exaggerated as a cause of the Iowa results, especially not Carter's capture of 27 per cent of the precinct delegates. With warm personal campaigning, effective organization, and his far from Washington background, Carter would have won if the matter had never come up. But without it, Shriver could probably have finished fourth or third rather than fifth, and such a result would not have been so punishing to his long-shot candidacy.

The Catholic Church, just like organized labor and other interest groups, held mock caucuses before January 19 to familiarize members with procedures so that they could put their views across. Abortion was frequently emphasized as an issue. And the Church, through its publications, including a bulletin distributed at many masses on the 18th, conveyed an inaccurate account of the public positions of Carter and Shriver, making Carter sound tougher and Shriver sound weaker in their mutual opposition to abortion.

The *Globe*, the diocesan newspaper in Sioux City, said of Carter: "He has gone on record as opposed to abortion and to all federal funding of abortion programs. His position on a human life amendment is not known." That last statement, attributed in the paper to the Iowa Catholic Conference, is wrong. Carter has told everyone who asks that he opposes an anti-abortion amendment. And while he has said that the government should do nothing to encourage abortions, he has not been so specific as to support, for example, legislation to ban the use of federal Medicaid funds for the purpose.

In Des Moines, the *Catholic Mirror* quoted Carter as saying, "No active government should ever contribute to abortions. We should do all we can to minimize abortions and to favor a national statute that would restrict the practice of abortion in our country." That statement came out of a long telephone conversation between Carter and Father Frank Bagnanno, director of legislative affairs for the Des Moines diocese. They disagree on what was said, with Carter contending that the suggestion of a "statute" came from the priest, not himself. Despite Carter's promise never to tell a lie, I believe the priest, because Iowa partisans of Carter say he had earlier raised the idea on his own at small public meetings.

One trouble with this statement is that "statute" was taken to mean "constitutional amendment" by many Catholics in the Right-to-Life movement, who told reporters that that was obviously what Carter meant. And they told their followers the same. Challenged on this, Carter's Des Moines office issued a press release repeating his opposition to an amendment. The Iowa papers ignored it.

The other problem with the statement is that no one, Carter and Father Bagnanno included, can think of a general federal statute that would restrict abortions and still be constitutional. The candidate, interviewed by Bruce Morton on the *CBS Morning News* on the 20th, contended that the 1973 Supreme Court decision "related to states, not the Congress." As he never tires of saying, Carter is not a lawyer, but the terms of that ruling would plainly affect any federal law, too. And before the 20th, his staff had reached that same conclusion, but did not get the word to him. Eventually, he withdrew his support of a "statute" in Washington on the 22nd.

Sargent Shriver has a very special sort of problem. He realizes that, as the only Catholic in the Democratic field, he faces a particularly severe standard set by Catholics on the issue, and when he refuses to back a constitutional amendment against abortion he knows that some Catholics will hold that against him, and that his personal study of the issue over many years may be ignored.

But whatever his long-range chances, he is a good enough politician to know that the phrase "personally

Adam Clymer covers politics for The Baltimore Sun.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposed to abortion" translates to the Right-to-Life movement as "I won't do anything about it," and that phrases about a "woman's right to choose" raise red flags. So he avoids them both, using "strongly opposed" and explaining the choice argument at considerable length.

Still, the *Globe* put his position this way: "He is personally opposed to abortion, but he has publicly stated that he supports the woman's right to choose to have an abortion." Accurate, perhaps, but with an editorial edge entirely different from the Carter treatment. The *Catholic Mirror* inserted "personally" into his written statement: "I am strongly opposed to abortion." Against this background, Catholics were urged in newspapers and Sunday sermons to go to their caucuses and stress the abortion issue.

Attempts by the Shriver camp to publicize Mr. Carter's other statements came generally too little and too late, although Monsignor Frank Brady in Sioux City issued a statement on the 19th making it clear he thought he had been had. The Catholic papers were quoted in a number of caucuses in support of Carter and against Shriver, who ended up doing no better in Catholic precincts than anywhere else, getting about 3 per cent. Mr. Carter swamped him badly in Catholic areas like Dubuque and Carroll Counties.

The abortion issue may have some effect in New Hampshire. It could again hurt Shriver's chances with Catholic voters. Even more important, though, it is confronting Carter with a test of his credibility and consistency that is inevitable for any candidate who implies, as Carter does, that he is more pure, less political, than anyone else. □

GERALD OR RONALD?

WINTER BOOK ON THE GOP

HOWARD L. REITER

The struggle within the Republican Party between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan for the Presidential nomination may well puzzle anyone watching from outside. What is the difference between them? Why do the conservatives resent Ford so much? Is this anything more than a clash of personalities, of only transitory significance? A glance back at Republican coalitional politics since the New Deal suggests some of the underlying factors, and may help to predict the outcome.

To discuss the conflict within the party as only between "liberals" (or "progressives" or "moderates") and "conservatives" is to oversimplify an important and complex set of historic developments. Back in the 1930s and 1940s, to be sure, the battle for control of the party was being waged between two factions. One was a Northeastern, liberal, internationalist wing represented best by Thomas Dewey, and to a lesser extent by the maverick Wendell Willkie and by Harold Stassen, who represented the old progressive movement. Aligned against this group were the Midwestern-based isolationist conservatives led by Robert Taft. Taft and his supporters were consistently defeated at national conventions.

Although few recognized it at the time, 1952 was a turning point in GOP factional politics: it marked not only the final defeat of Taft, who died the following year but also the beginning of the dramatic rise of the South and West in party influence. Partly because of population shifts and partly because of Eisenhower's popularity and the South's increasing estrangement from the national Democratic Party, those regions were voting more and more heavily Republican. Thus they earned increasing power within the party: their share of national convention votes rose from 32 per cent in 1940 to 43 per cent in 1976. This shift also involved a realignment of forces within the regions, California moving from Left to Right and Ohio shifting in the opposite direction. From the new regional base a third faction came into Republican affairs, one incorporating a new brand of conservatism.

Preoccupied with economic issues, the old conservatism had represented an almost Jeffersonian reaction to the threat of big government posed by the New Deal. Domestically, it was in a meaningful sense libertarian, as Sinclair Lewis recognized in *It Can't Happen Here*. Moreover, Taft and his supporters remained faithful to the Republican heritage of support for civil rights; in 1957 and 1960, every Republican Senator and about nine out of ten House Republicans supported final passage of the Civil Rights Acts. In foreign policy, this group was isolationist until World War II, and after the war Taft opposed NATO. Some of the old conservatives changed their perspective on world affairs—Arthur Vandenberg was one of them—but as Ronald Radosh has shown, others opposed the cold war.

The new conservatism, while sharing the economic concerns of the old, is far less afraid of big government when it believes that the national security is involved. It has been most accepting of the garrison state, and its support for military adventurism is well known. In domestic policy it has been far more vigorous than the old conservatism in opposing change in ethnic and cultural issues involving civil rights, law and order and abortion. These new conservatives include as prominent members Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond, John Tower and the Buckleys.

Thus, as the 1950s wore on, the GOP found itself divided into three factions—old conservatives based in the Midwest, new conservatives based in the South and West, and the traditional liberal wing based in the Northeast. In this configuration the old conservatives have assumed the balance of power within the party. In 1964 they guaranteed Goldwater's nomination when old conservative spokesmen

Howard Reiter is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Connecticut.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

endorsed him. After being placed in nomination by Everett Dirksen, Goldwater chose the party's national chairman, William E. Miller, to be his running mate as a gesture to the party loyalists who are numerous among the old conservatives. In 1968 the old conservatives backed Richard Nixon, confining Nelson Rockefeller to the liberal wing and drawing enough new conservative support to make Reagan's effort futile. Nixon's nomination was secured by cementing the two conservative factions through acts like criticizing bussing and open housing before a closed meeting of Southern delegates, and giving the South a veto on the Vice Presidential nomination.

Where does Gerald Ford stand in all of this? It is obvious that he is one of the old conservatives—Midwestern and loyal to the "old-time religion" of fiscal responsibility. While Ford's Congressional and Presidential actions have often put him on common ground with the new conservatives, he has not picked up their eagerness to dramatize race and law and order.

There is one important qualification to this appraisal of Ford, and that is his earlier disposition to win the White House with a liberal strategy. He leaned that way, probably, because he comes from Michigan, a state that generally stands to the left in Republican Presidential affairs. When it could not hide behind favorite sons like Vandenberg and George Romney, Michigan has voted Left at national conventions: for Eisenhower over Taft in 1952, for a liberal civil rights plank in 1964, and for a delegate apportionment plan more favorable to the liberal states in 1972. In successive Novembers, it has given its electoral votes only to moderate GOP nominees—Willkie, Dewey, Eisenhower—while rejecting more conservative standard-bearers—Landon and Goldwater. Michigan did vote for Nixon in 1972, but at a level several percentage points below the nation. In his biography of Ford, Jerold terHorst reports that the President's earliest political involvement was in the Willkie campaign, and that he was one of nineteen GOP Congressmen who in February 1952 asked Eisenhower to run.

This background makes it easier to understand why Ford chose Rockefeller as his Vice President, not foreseeing how little strength Rockefeller would bring to the ticket. To the new conservatives, it was not a balanced ticket, for Ford was not one of them; as an old conservative he stood in the middle of the party, and adding Rockefeller weighted the administration to the left. When polls showed Rockefeller unpopular even among the Democrats and independents he was supposed to attract, there was no longer any reason to retain him.

Moreover, some time in his first year in office Ford decided that, like Nixon, he had more in common with the new conservatives than with the liberals, and thus began his competition with Reagan for the Right. If there had been any strength in the party's left wing, a challenge would have arisen from that direction, but the party's Left has atrophied through the years and now commands barely a third of the vote at conventions. (See my " 'Parties Have Come Back Before,' " *The Nation*, December 7, 1974.) Someone like Maryland's Sen. Charles Mathias could perhaps mount a challenge, but the rest of the party's Left is bracing itself to support Ford as the lesser evil. Such is the bankruptcy of the Republican Left that even if Mathias were as formidable as was Rockefeller in the old days, he could not come close to being nominated.

The foregoing is a more or less ideological explanation of the Ford-Reagan contest, but it ignores another crucial dimension that has its roots in the past.

The major American parties differ not only in their ideological centers of gravity and the constituencies they represent but also in the ways they wage internal disputes. Observers have long noted the more diverse, coalitional make-up of the Democratic Party. It is held together not so much by ideology as by the somewhat random allegiances of a wide variety of social groups, united as much as anything by historical accident. This has made the party ever anxious to keep the elements of the coalition satisfied, often with rather specific and tangible appeals—TVA for the South, civil rights legislation for the blacks, mildly redistributive programs for labor, and so forth. The party cannot easily be described; Norman Mailer called it "the Snopes family married to Henry James, with the labor unions thrown in like a Yankee dollar."

By contrast, the Republicans have for the past generation been geographically, racially, ethnically and economically far more homogeneous than their rivals. Conflict within the party has been caused far less by the rival claims of elements within a coalition, and far more by questions of ideology. The theme arises again and again, from political scientists and journalists alike. The late Clinton Rossiter noted that "Republicans seem to lean to the ideological side of politics, Democrats to the practical." Another scholar, David Nexon, concluded that GOP activists tend to be "ideologically motivated amateurs," while Democratic activists are more likely to be "nonideologically motivated professionals." In his book on the 1960 campaign, Theodore H. White introduced the Democrats by discussing the various candidates individually, but was able to characterize the Republicans more easily by citing the party's "regular" and "citizen" wings.

These very unlike orientations help one to predict how each party will seek to expand its base. When Democrats reach out for new groups, they tend to use programmatic lures—the poverty program to attract the alienated poor, quotas to assure women, young people and racial minorities a fair share in party activities. Republicans traditionally try to expand their base by offering models of leadership and ideology to which they hope the independents will gravitate.

It is possible to exaggerate these differences. Most Democratic activists have at least a vague ideological leaning which sets outer limits to their coalitional appetites; there are some who have already ruled George Wallace out as a Vice Presidential possibility, although wooing the Wallace vote in that way might be a useful campaign tactic. And Republicans are not totally oblivious to the beliefs of their constituency; they maintain, for example, their image as the party of business. But the Democratic rejection of Wallace is motivated to some extent by demands from other groups in the coalition, and the Republican affinity for big business is in large part ideologically determined and unmatched by equally assiduous wooing of more populous groups.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oliphant, The Washington Star

In the days when Taft and Dewey squared off for control of the party, the emphasis was on party philosophy and not on defining target groups to be wooed. Even Eisenhower and his aide Arthur Larson, who wanted a "modern Republicanism" that would draw young people into a more progressive party, seldom went beyond general principles to programs or strategies aimed at that goal; Larson's *A Republican Looks at His Party* is long on philosophy and short on tactics. Goldwater followed in this tradition, directing no special appeals at the South but expecting the region to be attracted to his candidacy for its general conservatism, as Taft had assumed in an earlier day. By attacking TVA, Goldwater even erected a barrier for Southerners to surmount if they were inclined in his favor. He defined his attitude when he accepted his nomination, shortly before the notorious "extremism" remarks: "Anyone who joins us in all sincerity we welcome. Those who do not care for our cause, we don't expect to enter our ranks in any case." It was the standard Republican are-you-good-enough-to-support-us pose.

But by 1969, many conservatives were beginning to sing a different tune. That year, Kevin Phillips produced *The Emerging Republican Majority*, a paean to the Nixonian potential that was a significant departure from the old conservative strategy. Like a latter-day James Farley, Phillips audaciously singled out specific groups—Southerners, urban and suburban white ethnics, the "Sun Belt"—to be lured from their Democratic moorings by made-to-order federal programs. His book talked little of policy, but recommended enfranchising Southern blacks (to drive whites into the GOP), allaying blue-collar fears of Republican hostility to Social Security, Medicare, collective bargaining and aid to education, and fostering new cities in the West. That is hardly the stuff of Goldwater conservatism.

In the White House, Phillips's orientation was best represented by Charles Colson, whose duties included maintaining ties to interest groups and constituencies like labor. Christopher Lydon wrote in *The New York Times* of Colson's "instinct for 'constituency' politics" and cited his role in Nixon's promise of aid to parochial schools and attacks on abortion, amnesty and bussing. A former Colson aide, Douglas Hallett, wrote in the same newspaper of Colson's interest in the needs of Spanish-speaking Americans, blue-collar job frustrations, tax reform and "bread-and-butter interest-group politics."

This approach was controversial within the GOP, and the attacks came not only from the Left. *National Review*, true to Taftian tactics, sniffed at Phillips's book as "a sort of neo-Marxism cum statistics"—too materialistic—and Patrick Buchanan dismissed Colson by telling Hunter Thompson, "You know he's not really a Conservative."

Although Nixon publicly repudiated the exclusionary implications of the Phillips strategy, to some extent the White House attempted to work along these lines. Yet most of the appeals were verbal or symbolic: promises of parochial school aid that never materialized, personal declarations against abortion but no attempt to lead the fight for a constitutional amendment, highly visible Supreme Court nominations but little else for the South, and the donning of hard-hats but little else for labor. Phillips himself was deeply upset by the 1970 campaign, which substituted Agnew's rhetoric for substantive appeals.

Nixon's failure to follow through on Phillips's recommendations probably resulted from his boredom with domestic politics and his greater concern for his own re-election than for the party's growth. In that he was successful, gaining majority support from manual workers, Catholics and Southerners in 1972. There were signs early in 1973 of renewed appeals to these groups, but everything was soon eclipsed by Watergate.

As President, Gerald Ford does not seem interested in a Phillips-Colson strategy. Campaigning in South Carolina in 1974, he excised from his prepared speech a passage appealing to the South's Reconstruction era fears of a "veto-proof" Congress; it is hard to imagine Nixon or Agnew resisting that temptation. Eschewing a domestic program, Ford has few devices with which to attract new constituencies, and his appointments policy seems composed of two parts old Congressional cronies and one part old-fashioned ticket balancing; his first four Cabinet appointees include a Jew, a black and a woman. But nobody has detected any coherent strategy to all that.

Writing this early in the campaign, it is impossible to say whether Reagan will try the Phillips-Colson route. It is clear, on the other hand, that some of his closest advisers are still talking, as Phillips did, of fusing the Reagan and Wallace supporters. Never mind the inconsistencies; politics has witnessed stranger bedfellows. The point here is that yet another of the new conservatives' grievances against Ford is that he is unwilling to strive for that elusive new majority.

Who will win? Given all we know about an incumbent President's ability to manipulate convention machinery, we might expect that Ford will be renominated if he wants to be, but an outcome more likely than his defeat at the convention would be his withdrawal from the race in the face of a strong Reagan showing.

Two key signs point to such a showing. One is the fact that insurgent movements seem to do best in states where the party lacks a governor, and therefore has no strong leader to resist the rebels. In 1964, for example, Goldwater received nearly 80 per cent of the convention votes of states with Democratic Governors, but less than half the votes of states with Republican Governors. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey's various opponents won nearly half the votes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Republican states, but only about 20 per cent of the votes from Democratic states. In 1972, George McGovern carried nearly three-quarters of the votes of Republican states, and less than 40 per cent of the votes of Democratic states.

Today the Republicans hold only thirteen statehouses—an unlucky number for the party and for Ford. At least two of those Governors—New Hampshire's Meldrim Thomson and South Carolina's James Edwards—are already in the Reagan camp, and even if all thirteen were for Ford, their state delegations will cast little more than a quarter of the votes at the 1976 convention. This in itself should encourage Reagan, but there is an even deeper reason for his confidence.

Since 1964 it has been apparent that the fusion of old and new conservatives has dominated Republican national conventions. There have been five hotly contested roll calls at the past three GOP conventions—the civil rights and Presidential votes in 1964, the Presidential and Vice Presidential votes in 1968, and the fight over delegate apportionment in 1972. Twenty-eight states cast a majority for the conservatives on all five votes, and they will control 56 per cent of the votes in Kansas City. They include three giants—California, Texas and Illinois—which represent the three geographic pillars of the conservative coalition: Far West, South and Midwest. The liberal wing, which was once able to dominate five successive conventions, has now shrunk to the Northeast, a few Midwestern industrial states, and a handful of small allies. Only there is Reagan promised a hard battle; Ford is so weak that he cannot count on much of the Midwest.

So the course of prudence would be to watch those states which have Democratic Governors and which lie outside the region north of the Ohio River and the Potomac; that is where Reagan's campaign is likely to go furthest. Unfortunately for Ford, that is a dominant chunk of the Republican Party.

Ultimately, then, we are talking about the fate of a party which, despite its present weakness, stands an even chance of winning the White House in November. Will the Kansas City convention witness the ultimate triumph of the Goldwater movement, promising a fundamental realignment of the parties? Or will it remain in the Taft-Ford tradition of rather narrow conservative appeals without grand gestures? The results will have a great effect on the future of American party politics. □

THE CLANDESTINE ESTABLISHMENT

Intelligence: The Test for Congress

REP. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Washington

As they prepare their written reports on the activities of U.S. intelligence agencies, the two Congressional investigating committees mark the disappointing end to a year of missed opportunities. As matters stand, the investigations may well result in a secret "reform" of a secret agency, an "official secrets act," and a Congressional oversight mechanism the effect of which will be to sanction covert operations. In the process, the momentum for reform will have been dissipated, and a government of laws will not have been instituted in this important sector.

Whatever the value of their final reports and legislative recommendations, both committees have failed in the important task of public education. The disappointment is especially keen since it comes on the heels of the Ervin committee's Watergate investigation which so successfully combined classroom education and good theatre. It was precisely because those hearings had sensitized the public to the Watergate issues that the Saturday Night Massacre provoked the impeachment inquiry. The fact that important legislation did not result from the investigation is far less significant than the lesson that closed government can be opened for the average citizen to see and judge.

The obsessive concern with secrecy which has dominated the intelligence investigations from the start foreclosed the possibility of creating the public awareness and understanding essential for the reform process to be effective. The irony, of course, is that the investigations came about in large part because of the excessive secrecy of the executive and its intelligence agencies and the widespread feeling that such secrecy is incompatible with the American experience. Again and again, the committees have acquiesced in the personal appeals of the President and high administration officials to withhold information from the public. Even Sen. Gary Hart, a committee member with apparent liberal credentials, provided the crucial vote—in opposition to Chairman Church—to hold no public hearings on the secret activities of the National Security Agency.

The entire question of the constitutionality, morality and efficacy of clandestine operations—which should have been the centerpiece of the investigations—has been lost in the shuffle of committee procedure. In a division of labor worked out between Congressman Pike, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, and Senator Church, clandestine operations were to be dealt with by the Senate committee. But it wasn't until the beginning of December that Senator Church held one afternoon of public hearings on covert action in Chile, consisting of a staff presentation and testimony from three former State Department officials, and a single morning of hearings on covert action in general, consisting of a panel discussion that included one opponent of covert action. Neither hearing was televised.

The capacity of Congress to make independent

Michael Harrington represents the 6th District in Massachusetts and was formerly a member of the House Select Committee to investigate intelligence operations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

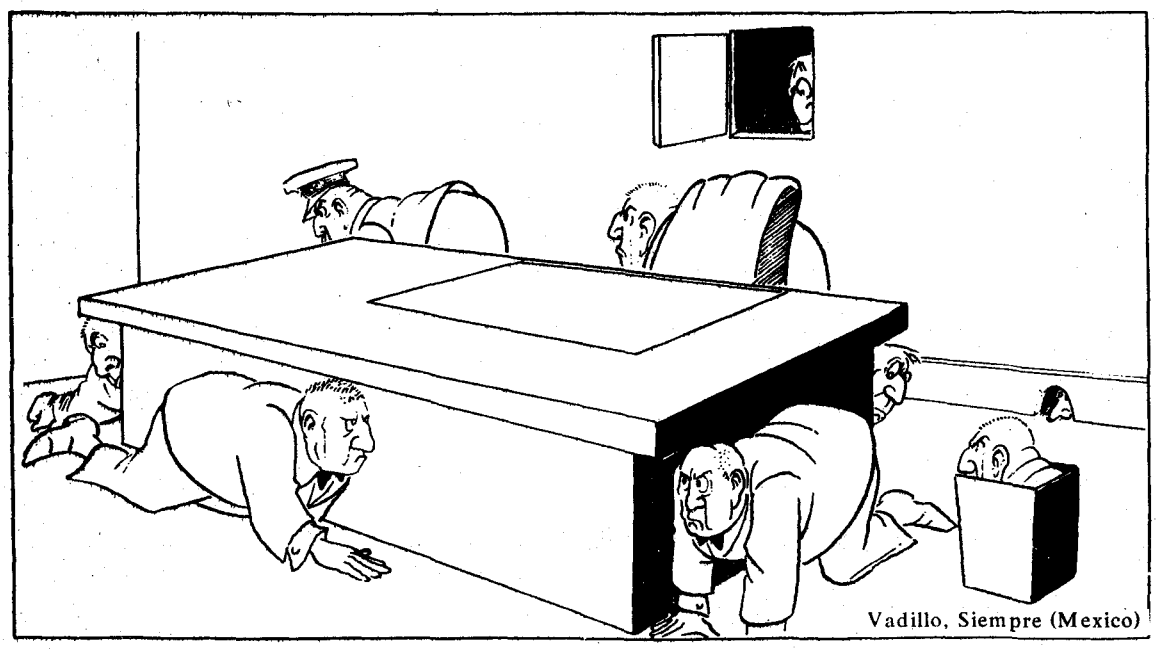
judgments on foreign policy is surely the crux of the matter. But Congress must not only be independent; it must be *seen* to be independent. For example, the Senate committee's report on assassination plots was provided in advance to the CIA so that the agency could make objections, many of which were accommodated. Even so, the President made dramatic last-minute appeals to prevent the report's publication. The committee's report on covert action in Chile was written after "lengthy discussions" with the CIA, making "every effort to assure that intelligence sources and methods are protected," as a staff member told the press. Subsequently, Senator Church initiated contacts between the committee's staff and President Ford's staff to determine "areas of consensus" on intelligence reform. Without impugning the integrity of either Senate report, or the intentions of its efforts to seek consensus, the wisdom of the precedent can be questioned. Without the right to decide for itself when classified material should be made public, the Congress will truly be annexed by the executive's national security apparatus. A public that has become cynical about government in general and intelligence operations in particular, and which has endured the deceptions of the past decade, can be excused if it raises an eyebrow at "lengthy discussions" between the Senate committee staff and the CIA over the contents of a report on Chile. Currently, the administration is attempting to prevent publication of the House committee's report on clandestine operations.

The reform process, as it is likely to develop in this session of Congress, involves two major tasks. One is to establish machinery and procedures for Congressional oversight of the intelligence community. This is expected to include a committee in each house (or possibly a joint committee), with rotating membership and staff which will take over responsibility from the Armed Services Committees for passing the annual authorization legislation for the CIA, the NSA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the intelligence collecting units of the FBI. To the extent that Congress decides it should know about clandestine operations, these will be reported to the committees. One of the outstanding issues will be whether advance approval of the committees will be required for such overseas operations.

The second task is the writing of a new legislative charter for the CIA, and of the first such charters for the NSA and the FBI. The objective will be to set forth the missions of the agencies and the means which they may, and may not, use to carry them out. No one now expects that this second task will be seriously addressed in this session of Congress. Indeed, the committees have not even begun to draft charters. Passing new charters requires a national consensus on what the agencies should be permitted to do—for example, whether the CIA should engage in secret operations intended to affect politics in foreign countries ("covert action," as distinguished from espionage), or whether the FBI should, as it now does, collect intelligence on Americans who are not suspected of having committed a crime. The secrecy of the investigations has insured that no such consensus has been produced.

The danger, of course, is that the President will issue a new batch of classified Executive Orders, reorganizing the intelligence community, the contents of which will be revealed only to a handful of senior members of Congress in strict confidence. The public can then be told that, reform having occurred, new detailed "charter" legislation is unnecessary and probably dangerous. Indeed, the classified Executive Orders have already been drafted and were discussed at a high-level White House meeting on January 10.

Although the charters probably will not be forthcoming soon, there is a good possibility that Congress will organize new oversight committees on intelligence during the present session. This deliberative process will bear very close watching in the next few months. For one thing, the administration is attempting to put Congress on the defensive at the outset by defining the issue as the ability and



The Espionage Establishment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

willingness of Congress to keep the executive's secrets, rather than the propriety and efficacy of the executive's conduct of secret intelligence operations. The ensuing debate would then assume the continuation of clandestine operations. This stratagem is analogous to the administration's tactic last spring of leading Senator Church down the endless road of assassination investigations, when it appeared that the Senate committee might take a critical look at covert action, espionage and the efficiency of the intelligence community.

By taking the offensive on the issue of Congressional leaks, the administration has posed a false dilemma to which it has a dangerous solution. The reasoning is as follows: since some CIA secret operations will always be necessary abroad, if Congress is informed of such operations ahead of time or (as the current law requires) in a "timely fashion" after an operation begins, a member of Congress could effectively kill a project by making it public. The revelation of secret U.S. funding of Italian political parties is the current example used by the President. Consequently, if Congress expects to get this information, it will have to legislate penalties for itself for unauthorized disclosure. The administration would like these to include possible dismissal from the Congress of a member who makes an unauthorized disclosure, as well as tough criminal penalties for former government employees and others, probably including the press, who disclose anything stamped "classified." Since Congressional oversight is clearly impossible without uninhibited access to information, and since that is one thing Congress will probably insist upon, the administration is attempting to strike a deal: information for the oversight committees in return for an "official secrets act," as the British call it, and an unprecedented, and probably unconstitutional, restriction of Congressional expression. Such an official secrets act has long been a major objective of the intelligence community.

The result is that legislation now envisioned to set up new oversight committees may foreclose debate and impose an answer to the central foreign policy question with respect to the CIA: should it engage in clandestine operations, especially covert action, at all? Not only would such a deal concede the argument on clandestine operations but it would also be reached at the price of repressive laws increasing executive secrecy and strengthening its enforcement. It is important to remember that the first legislation to require CIA reporting of covert action to Congress, passed fourteen months ago, was also the first statute to mention "nonintelligence activities" as a CIA function—thus suggesting statutory authorization for something that was not clearly authorized by the 1947 law that set up the agency.

The administration must not be allowed to set these narrow limits on the debate. Indeed, even the use of the term "oversight" is misleading. The CIA is a major overseas operational arm of the executive's conduct of foreign policy. As an instrument of foreign policy, it falls in an area of constitutionally shared powers. Without engaging in a constitutional exegesis, it is obvious that some covert actions are acts of war, which are now known to and authorized by a mere handful of officials. It is also obvious that when our government undertakes an act of war, not only a small group of muzzled members of Congress but the American people have a right to know.

For the moment, inaction is preferable to hasty, ill-conceived legislation. Rather than set up oversight committees which bring with them Draconian legislation on secrets and indirectly sanction covert action, the present select committees should continue their investigations through the rest of the 94th Congress. The new Congress, and one hopes the new administration elected in November, can then give serious attention to the meaning and scope of oversight and the true reform of the intelligence community. □

How I Became a Security Risk

VERN L. BULLOUGH

I was once a security risk. The details of how I came to be so classified I recently discovered when, thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, I was able to get the dossier compiled on me by Naval Intelligence. The so-called information in that file raises troubling questions about the whole nature of the security apparatus in the United States. Specifically, it would seem that our many and overlapping intelligence agencies justify their existence by uncovering ever more threats to the nation's security. Moreover, the FBI, the various branches of the armed forces, the CIA, the Secret Service and others, forced to compete with one another for funds, are not above manufacturing subversives to achieve their ends. Since their existence is largely dependent on finding ever more hidden enemies, the competing organizations draw their classifications as broadly as possible. As part of the competition, it is assumed that no other security investigative organization can be trusted, and that one agency will benefit if it can demonstrate laxness in the other. It appears that one reason I ran into difficulty with the U.S. Navy was that I once had been cleared by the U.S. Army.

Another concern raised by my Navy dossier is the incompetence of the security agents. Although long, the file is superficial; except for the interviews, there was little in-depth investigation and a great lack of reliable information. Most of those interviewed, moreover, were neighbors or people with whom I had worked for only a short time. Few close friends or people who really knew me were approached. Even more disturbing is the fact that the areas of the check and the kinds of material or activity seen as subversive appear to have been influenced by the outlook and prejudices of the investigator. It seems evident that the agent most involved in my case was extremely

Vern Bullough is a member of the History Department at California State University, Northridge.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative, anti-intellectual, and an admirer of Joseph McCarthy. Since my difficulties with the U.S. Government mostly occurred in the early 1950s, that is perhaps not surprising, but there is no evidence that the Navy tried to put any curbs on their agent's biases.

An aspect of my case that now irritates me a lot is the public money it wasted. The investigation sprang from the fact that, while a graduate student at the University of Chicago, I took a short-term job in the extension division typing manuals for U.S. Navy extension courses. During my first week on the job I had filled out the security questionnaire, promptly forgot about it, and within a few months went on to better-paying and more challenging work that was in no way connected with the Navy. All of the detailed naval investigation was conducted after I had left the job. I figure that my case involved at least three investigators (in California, Utah and Illinois), several staff conferences, and hundreds of man-hours, none of which could be justified in terms of the Navy's own security program.

Some examples from my file will illustrate the quality of this cloak-and-dagger bureaucracy. It seems that the Navy changed its routine security check on me to an intensive investigation because my landlord in Chicago, a fellow graduate student, raised some questions about my interracial activity. (Though the names are deleted from my file, as is permitted under the Freedom of Information Act, in most cases the sources are easy to identify.) The landlord told the Navy agent that I had a history of interracial activity and was a "militant supporter" of FEPC (Federal Employment Practices Commission) legislation. Looked at today, his remarks about my views seem innocuous, but the investigator's interest was aroused, and what I thought had been rather mainstream groups became subversive in his eyes. I had stated on the questionnaire that I belonged to the Unitarian Church, but the agent suggested that because I belonged to an interracial Unitarian Fellowship my loyalty was distinctly suspect. I also belonged to the Independent Voters of Illinois (the state affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action), which the agent said had been endorsed by the Communist Party, was Communist-infiltrated, or had members who were believed to be Communists or fellow travelers. The investigator found that I had helped organize the Woodlawn Community Conference, which was devoted to improving interracial relations and had originally been sponsored by the Friends Service Committee. Though the organization later became famous because of Saul Alinsky's leadership, he was not then associated with it; the agent found the conference suspect because of its emphasis on interracial cooperation. It too was said to be infiltrated by Communists or fellow travelers. Similarly, the Navy's sleuth was disturbed by my participation in organizing the Medical Committee Against Discrimination, forerunner of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Inevitably, since the agent had clearly made up his mind that I was either a Communist or a notorious fellow traveler, any organization I belonged to could itself fall under suspicion, and association with me could endanger other persons.

In the ensuing detailed investigation only one of those interviewed raised any additional questions about my loyalty: a fellow newspaper reporter in Salt Lake City said that, since I had worked for Henry Wallace in 1948 and continually agitated for equal rights for Negroes, he suspected my loyalty. Of the organizations to which I belonged that the Navy claims were Communist-influenced, -infiltrated, or packed with fellow travelers, the only one that the file covers in any detail is the Utah Youth Council, the honorary chairman of which was the Episcopal Bishop of Utah whose sponsorship became suspect when he later was given a Stalin Peace Prize. The council was a short-lived high school organization and most of the members spent their time working for the foundation of the United Nations and encouraging integrated social activities. The highlight of my membership and of the organization itself was our participation in the Utah state government on Youth Day. I believe I was acting governor, but cannot now verify this. There is an indication in my file that the FBI investigated the council after the Bishop won the Stalin Peace Prize, but by then the organization no longer existed and all they had was a list of members, including myself and one of my high school teachers who was forced out of the Salt Lake City school system because of alleged Communist activities.

As the investigation into my past proceeded, I was not unaware that it was taking place. Letters from former neighbors and former teachers (the chief source of the Navy's information) commented that I must be in line for a really top security position since they had been so intensively questioned about me. My file is perhaps unusual in that, before the completed report was filed, the Navy called on me for a final interview. The agent who interviewed me did so in such an unprofessional manner, and in such a prejudicial way, that the University of Chicago intervened directly in my case. This was possible because the agent had not only interviewed some of my professors but had denounced me as a subversive to at least one of them, a professor who himself had a top-security clearance. The professor called the agent the most "stupid son of a bitch" that he had ever run across, and the agent's conduct encouraged the University of Chicago to support my complaint. As a result I filed an affidavit on my interview with the agent, and this affidavit appears in my file, along with the agent's response and the official response of the Navy. The most troublesome aspect of my file is that the Navy officially denies doing some of the things that my file indicates it had done. Intelligence agencies, if the conclusion to be drawn from my file is typical, are not averse to lying when caught, and it is difficult to believe what they say under any condition.

The University of Chicago was not a disinterested party in the investigation since it had been my place of employment for the original Navy job, and also since the agent had told me the university itself was suspect because of the large number of fellow travelers if not known Communists associated with it. Some of the Chicago newspapers were alleging the same thing at that time, and the university was determined to silence such innuendos. The university officials got in touch not only with the Navy but also with Sen. Paul H. Douglas, one of the founders of the Independent Voters of Illinois, regarded by the agent as a subversive organization. Douglas was understandably upset, and so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Navy carried out a more detailed investigation than they might otherwise have done, and ended up by more or less apologizing.

When I look at my file today, including the statements in my affidavit, the denial of the agent in charge of the case, plus the other material included, the real dangers of security investigation become clear. The agent formally denied that he had told me the Unitarian Church or any particular fellowship was run by Communists or Communist sympathizers, adding that even if this were true of the organizations in question, he would not have revealed such classified data about a subversive organization to an interviewee.

Some insight into his own beliefs can be gained from his statements about race. In connection with my support of FEPC, he advised me that, while my beliefs might be O.K. in theory, I would feel differently if a Negro moved next door to me. He added that Negroes committed 80 per cent of the crime in Chicago. Though he denied having said quite that, he argued in his own statement that such allegations would nonetheless have been justified because of my "violent opposition to racial discrimination."

In my affidavit I said that when I stated that my wife had had several last names before we were married, he pounced on the statement as proof of the use of aliases (she had had a divorced mother and three adoptive fathers). In his reply on this point he explained that he had been concerned because I had not listed her maiden name on my original security clearance form. But on the form, now part of my file, I find no place for listing a wife's maiden name or other names. During the interview the agent persisted in calling me a Socialist, since my landlord had reported I was a supporter of the British Labour Party, but in his reply he carefully glossed over this, saying he did not probe deeply into my political beliefs. He added that such tactics might have been justified in any case because of my known admiration for the British Labour Party. During the interview the agent questioned me about my subversive reading matter (namely *The Nation* and *The Progressive*), looked at my library where he found a Modern Library edition of Marx, and seemed to imply that my future would be imperiled if I did not mend my ways. In his official report he denied doing any of these things.

Other aspects of my file raise questions about the investigative procedure. It appears obvious that the staff people in Chicago were highly selective of what they chose to put into the final report. For example, it quotes one of those interviewed as having never heard me say anything bad about Russia or communism, but leaves out the second part of the sentence—which is however included in the file—that the same interviewee had never heard me say anything good about Russia or communism either. In short, the subject had never come up in discussions between us. Similar misrepresentations appear in other parts of the summary. Even worse is the general ignorance about Communist activity and organization, something about which the agents claim to be expert. One example will have to suffice: the investigator states that the Utah Youth Council was a predecessor of the American Youth for Democracy. Since the Utah Youth Council was organized in 1944 and the AYD was by then more or less defunct, the obsessive desire to link individuals to organizations to which they did not belong, becomes obvious.

My catalogue of official ineptness could go on for several more pages, but the effect would be repetitious. Anything that departed from what the agent regarded as permissible beliefs or behavior—and permissible was defined in very narrow terms—was subversive. Rather than just questioning the obvious abuses of the FBI or the CIA, as the popular press is now doing, we ought to question the need for such massive intelligence networks in the United States. Even more frightening than an individual case like mine was the dominant influence the security clearance mentality exercised on large areas of the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, most notably in Southern California. If an advocate of FEPC back in the middle 1940s could be regarded as subversive in the early 1950s, or a 17-year-old supporter of the United Nations could be regarded as subversive thirty years ago, the general assumption that an intelligence community and domestic security clearances are essential to the nation's safety is scarcely self-evident. The burden of trying to prove that they are should rest upon the government. We can, however, be grateful for the Freedom of Information Act: we are no longer fighting for our rights entirely in the dark. □

ECHEVERRIA'S MEXICO

Reacting to Big-Stick Diplomacy

STANLEY MEISLER

Mexico City

Americans, when they think of Mexico, see it as a pleasant place for midwinter holidays, a rich source of (perhaps authentic) pre-Columbian treasures, an accommodating provider of divorces, or a more or less permanent refuge from the demands of 20th-century industrial life. However, Mexico presents no problems, and therefore Americans do not think about it very much. But for Mexicans, the United States is the big problem and they think about it all the time. They have been doing so with renewed intensity during the current administration of President Luis Echeverria, a proud, ambitious man in a proud, small country.

Mexican relations with the United States have long been founded on humiliation and dependence. Mexicans know that the United States is usually strong enough to work its

Stanley Meisler is a correspondent of the Los Angeles Times, *now stationed in Mexico.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will—whether conquering all the land from Texas to California or invading in pursuit of bandits or closing the border to punish Mexico for lax drug enforcement. All this is seen by Mexicans as a reflection of their weakness as much as American strength. It is not an easy assessment for them to accept. No matter how urbane he may seem, a Mexican official has trouble keeping resentment out of his feelings when he deals with the United States.

This resentment, however, has its ups and downs. Since World War II, the United States has enjoyed an era of relatively good feeling with Mexico. For three decades, Mexico has sought American capital and tourism, and middle- and upper-class Mexicans have tried to emulate the life style of the United States. American culture and organization and products have set the standards for modern Mexicans. The emulation has tended to obscure or even hold back the resentment.

This era of comparatively good feeling seems to be coming to an end. Partly, this stems from policies of President Echeverria that attempt to lessen Mexican dependence on the United States and push Mexico out of its American embrace and into the rest of the world. To the annoyance of U.S. policy makers, Echeverria has become a spokesman for the Third World; it is said that when his present term expires he would like to succeed to Kurt Waldheim's post at the U.N.

American insensitivity has made the problem worse. Displaying little tact, American officials have made clear their testiness over Echeverria's talk, and the U.S. Government has not hesitated to show and use its enormous power. Even private Americans have not hesitated to use their power against Mexico. In the last session of the General Assembly, Mexico voted for the resolution that equated Zionism with racism. Its vote was motivated less by any analysis of Israeli policies than by Echeverria's desire to show Third World governments that Mexico was aligned with them. The vote provoked a boycott by American Jewish groups of tourism to Mexico, a punishment which hurt so badly that Foreign Minister Emilio O. Rabasa rushed to Israel and President Echeverria invited American Jewish leaders to Mexico City in humiliating attempts to make amends. In the end, Rabasa became the scapegoat and lost his post. The vote was obviously foolish foreign policy, but American Jews punished no other country for its vote, for no other country was so vulnerable.

In the last few years, there has been an increasing incidence of irritating statements, foolishness and unpleasantness on both sides. The most recent manifestation came during the recent Pan-American Games when Mexican crowds jeered and manhandled American athletes. Mexican paranoia can be surprising. In late 1974, after the Mexican Government reported a huge oil discovery in the states of Chiapas and Tabasco, the Mexican press began fretting over the possibility that the United States would take the oil away. Abraham Lopez Lara, a columnist for *Excelsior*, Mexico's most distinguished daily newspaper, warned that American oil companies might bring their "powerful machines of suction and extraction" to neighboring Guatemala which, he said, seemed to have an extension of the Mexican fields. According to Lopez Lara, the Americans, with their machinery, could suck out the Mexican oil. This might sound silly to American ears, but Lopez Lara was not joking, and his alarm sounded plausible to his readers.

While Mexicans, contemplating the United States, often show their weakness and fear, Americans, facing Mexico, often do the opposite. In October 1974, after President Ford and President Echeverria met in Magdalena de Kino, a White House press assistant fell into a panic because he could not find the bus set aside to take him and a pool of American newsmen to the airport. Since the American press is obsessed about keeping up with the President, the White House aide and the newsmen scrambled aboard another bus, set aside for the Mexican press.

The White House aide ordered the bus driver to start up, but a young Mexican woman, an assistant to President Echeverria's press secretary, politely told him that the bus had to wait for a large number of Mexican newsmen. This drove the White House aide into a rage. He screamed and cursed and waved his arms frantically. "Bullshit, bullshit," he shouted at the Mexican woman. His behavior became so offensive that the incident almost turned even more ugly, as several Mexican journalists arose from their seats. But the White House aide finally gave up, jumped off the bus with his newsmen, and hunted for other transportation. To be sure, that was just one ill-mannered American, but it is also true that the incident could have happened in very few other countries.

Mexico is a special case, and it is special because it is weak. No other country is so dependent on the United States or so vulnerable to American whims. A few statistics make this clear. In 1974, Mexico bought 62 per cent of its imports from the United States and sold 58 per cent of its exports there. The purchases from America accounted for 70 per cent of Mexico's trade deficit of $3.2 billion. That imbalance was diminished somewhat in 1974 by other earnings from the United States—which, however, only deepened the dependence. American spending in frontier towns amounted to 23 per cent of all foreign exchange brought into Mexico; tourism, mostly American, accounted for another 14 per cent; American in-bond plants, which assemble U.S. goods with cheap Mexican labor, accounted for 7 per cent. In all, Mexico earned more than 65 per cent of its foreign exchange in 1974 from the United States. According to a study prepared recently for the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, American corporations have provided 80 per cent of the $3 billion foreign investment in Mexico. A recent Mexican study concluded that foreigners, mostly Americans, control or have controlling influence over 36 per cent of the capital of Mexico's 311 largest corporations.

In view of this dependence, Mexican officials believe their country is entitled to special consideration in American trade policies. But the U.S. Government has usually ignored Mexico when setting such policy. In August 1971, for example, President Nixon, while devaluing the dollar, imposed a 10 per cent surcharge on all imports to the United States. The Mexicans, who were neither consulted nor warned, protested angrily. The surcharge was removed for all countries four months later, before much damage could be done to the Mexican economy, but the lesson about Mexico's vulnerability was not lost on President Echeverria, then in the first year of his Presidency.

The problem of drugs provides a good example of how

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

economic dependence makes Mexico susceptible to American badgering. Almost all the marijuana and a good deal of the heroin used in the United States has traditionally come from Mexico. It has been an open secret for years that local Mexican officials and police in the states of Sinaloa, Durango, Sonora, Nayarit and Chihuahua, where opium poppies are grown, and in the cities of Guadalajara and Culiacan, where they are processed into heroin, have been involved in the lucrative trade. American drug officials have never hesitated to make their annoyance known.

The attitude of top Mexican officials—admittedly, not an entirely lucid one—is that their country is being badgered because of an American problem. The most serious drug problem within Mexico is the sniffing of glue, paint thinner and other solvents. Mexicans grow opium poppies because Americans take heroin. "Your government," a spokesman for the Mexican Government told me in 1974, "is paying too much attention to growing here and not enough to distribution in the United States. If you dealt with the distribution, you would have no problem."

In September 1969, the Nixon administration decided to teach Mexico a lesson. It launched Operation Intercept. For three weeks, U.S. Border Patrol and Customs agents thoroughly searched every person and car crossing the border from Mexico. The interminable delays disrupted border commerce and held up Mexican workers with jobs in the United States. American tourists were dissuaded from making trips to Mexico.

Mexico, facing a severe economic loss, got the idea. As a U.S. Embassy official put it later, "The United States mechanized its leverage in Operation Intercept, and this sensitized the Mexicans to the problem." The Mexican Government agreed to join the U.S. Government in Operation Cooperation—a joint program to crack down on the drug traffic crossing the border. It was not an entirely cynical decision; a number of policy makers in the new Echeverria administration believed it made sense for Mexico to deal with the American drug problem before it contaminated Mexico.

Under Operation Cooperation, Mexico significantly increased its destruction of poppy fields and heroin laboratories and its arrests of traffickers and smugglers. Its most significant and perhaps ironic record, however, came in the arrest of Americans. Before Operation Cooperation, there were perhaps 100 Americans in Mexican jails, mostly for failing to pay hotel bills. By the end of 1974, the figure was 441. This large number has led to many extended articles in American newspapers about the plight of the Americans in noisome confinement. Those arrested have been subjected to an alien, often cruel judicial system; almost all were forced to sign confessions written in a language they did not understand. Some were beaten and otherwise abused by police during interrogation. Many of their parents were bilked for tens of thousands of dollars by unscrupulous Mexican lawyers. Most were sent to prisons where they had to pay extortion to survive.

The bad publicity about Americans in jail has been accompanied by bad publicity about the effects of Operation Cooperation. Much of its period coincided with a Turkish Government ban on the cultivation of poppies in Turkey. As a result, the main source of heroin shifted to Mexico. Despite Operation Cooperation the percentage of heroin in the United States coming from Mexico increased from 15 per cent in 1970 to 60 per cent in 1974. Frustrated U.S. agents fed this news to American newspapers. As top officials of the Mexican Government now see the situation, Mexico was forced, by a blatant act of economic aggression in 1969, to comply with American demands on drug enforcement and, for its pain, received a black name in the American press.

For years, American and Mexican diplomats insisted that the biggest problem between the two countries was caused by migrant Mexican workers known as *braceros*, the Spanish word for laborers. But the issue, on the surface, seems quiescent now. Mexico, until late 1974, continually asked the U.S. Government to return to its old program and admit 300,000 Mexican migrant workers every year for temporary employment. But in October 1974, after meeting with President Ford, President Echeverria told newsmen in Arizona that he had informed Ford that Mexico "had definitely desisted from thinking of a new treaty." A few days later, Echeverria told a rally of farmers in northern Mexico, "We cannot compromise ourselves in order to have a quota of workers every year. The problem must resolve itself in Mexico." But the problem is not likely to resolve itself soon.

Given the weakness of the Mexican economy compared to the American economy and the extraordinary growth in Mexican population, it is obvious that both sides of the issue—a demand for legal entry into the United States and an attempt to halt illegal immigration—will fester for some time and, in fact, get worse. The Mexican population, only 35 million in 1960, is almost 60 million now and is expected to reach 100 million in 1990 and 135 million ten years later. The pressures for work will become enormous. But it is an issue on which the Mexicans have no leverage, nothing to offer the United States in exchange for taking excess labor off their hands. The Mexicans must depend on the fluctuating demands of the American labor market and on the continued, relative tolerance of the U.S. Government to illegal immigration.

It is hardly surprising, then, that President Echeverria, who took office in 1970, should try to diminish Mexican dependence on the United States. He has been less than successful. He did impose regulations that limited the percentage of foreign investment in certain enterprises, but there has been no noticeable decline in American investment or Mexican hunger for American capital. Echeverria and Lopez Portillo, who is slated to succeed him, also have proposed policies to revitalize the rural areas, but thus far they are more a promise than a program, and there has been no appreciable slowing of Mexican industrialization or of Mexican need for American machinery and equipment.

In the search for new markets and a new international role for the country, Echeverria has become the most traveled President in Mexican history. Until 1956, no Mexican President had met any chief of state or government other than the President of the United States. In five years, Echeverria had visited thirty countries and talked with sixty-four heads of state and government. But he has not reduced Mexican dependence on American trade. From 1970 through 1974, in fact, Mexican trade with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States increased 2.5 times and the American share of the Mexican trade deficit rose from 66 per cent to 70 per cent. It is easier to visit Tanzania, for example, than to figure out a way to make Tanzania a market for Mexican goods.

Echeverria has been most successful in creating a new image for Mexico as a leader of the Third World. This was comparatively easy to do, for it involved rhetoric and United Nations politicking rather than solutions to current U.S.-Mexican issues. In 1972, Echeverria proposed that the United Nations adopt a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Despite the negative votes of the United States and five industrialized countries and the abstentions of ten others, the General Assembly approved the charter in December 1974. It is a blueprint detailing what the Third World wants in a new international economic order.

In a sense, the charter took on a life of its own. Third World countries working on it in the U.N. probably made it stronger than Echeverria had originally intended. But it was his charter, Mexico's expression of psychological independence, and the President traveled throughout the world in its support. Despite this, there is strong evidence that Echeverria did not intend to antagonize the United States with the charter. In fact, he hoped and probably expected that the United States would vote for it at the U.N. The hope and expectation were an example of Mexican ambivalence toward the United States.

After the day of meetings between the two Presidents on the Arizona-Sonora border in October 1974, Ford told Echeverria at a news conference that the charter "has very great merit and very great support, and I compliment you for it." Echeverria then said that the most important result of their meetings was the way that Ford "underlined to me . . . the importance that he gives the charter."

In less than two months, however, the United States voted against the charter at the U.N. American officials could not accept two clauses. One gave every state the right to expropriate foreign property by paying only the compensation deemed adequate by its own laws; the other gave states the right to organize associations of producers of primary products like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. American opposition to such policies was well-known and long-standing, but, in view of the public statements made by Ford and Echeverria, the Mexicans were disappointed. Rabasa told newsmen, "The vote of the United States caused a great disillusion in me."

There is no doubt that a bit more realism and less rhetoric from the Mexican side would probably help relations at this time. Nevertheless, the rhetoric would be less irritating if the United States recognized it for what it is—a generalized striving for an image of independence rather than an attack on the United States.

American officials will probably find Echeverria's successor more congenial. Although, under the Mexican system, little is known about a President's policies until he takes office, Lopez Portillo, former Secretary of the Treasury, strikes outsiders as a leader less concerned with Latin rhetoric than with good sense. But, even so, it would be foolish to expect him to alter the general trend of Echeverria's policy of trying to diminish Mexican dependence on the United States.

Relations between a powerful country and its weak neighbor are always difficult; if Mexico is touchy, the United States is obtuse. Only insensitivity and lack of concern can account for Ford's having left with Echeverria the false impression that the United States would vote for the charter. It is obvious that the relationship needs, from the American side, more understanding of the Mexican position.

A high-ranking Mexican Government official told me not long ago that Echeverria is trying to erase the great economic and social problem of Mexico—the unjust distribution of wealth—in a peaceful, reformist way, before it is too late to avert a radical solution. This was to the advantage of the United States, the official said, yet only a few people in the U.S. Government understood Echeverria and his policies. □

CHAVEZ AND THE FARM LAW

Time Running Out in the Fields

RONALD B. TAYLOR

Visalia, Calif.

Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers of America, whose history of the past ten years has been a record of battles won and lost but victory still ungrasped, once more find a sword hanging over their heads. They are winning in California's market-garden valleys but have run out of time in the Sacramento legislature. At best, the momentum of their current surge will be checked; at worst it may be brought to a halt.

Until the fall of 1975 some California farmers were still arguing that their workers were at least satisfied, if not happy with, their impoverished lot; these same growers often contended that all labor unrest was caused by Communists or other "outside agitators." Others, admitting that unionization was inevitable, alleged that their workers preferred the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

By January these myths had been shattered and the farmers were discovering they had grossly misinterpreted the mood of their labor force. The awakening came as 41,000 field workers went to the polls, protected for the

Ronald Taylor is a West Coast journalist who has been covering farm labor and related subjects for many years. He is the author of Sweatshops in the Sun: Child Labor on the Farm *and* Chavez and the Farm Workers (*both Beacon Press*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first time by a Labor Relations Act that guaranteed their right to organize and vote for a union of their choice. Despite chaotic election processes that in the beginning were tainted by fear and intimidation, an impressive 93 per cent want to be represented by a union.

And when the controversies surrounding the first round of the new California harvest-time elections subsided, the Chavez-led UFW had won 57 per cent of the 339 elections that could be counted. The Teamsters had won only 36 per cent. Another forty-two elections, involving 4,408 votes, are tangled in controversy and challenges and have not been tallied or included in the totals.

The election results dismayed both the farmers and the Teamsters. When the big Brotherhood, the farm bureau federation and the grape and vegetable growers agreed last spring to support Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown's Agriculture Labor Relations Act of 1975, they had all but counted out the UFW. It had lost all but one of its grape contracts to the Teamsters in 1973, and its forces and resources seemed to be dwindling. In the Eastern markets, where the UFW boycotts had driven California grape growers to the bargaining table in 1970, the media were asking if the Chavez image had faded and the UFW cause been brushed aside by workers who preferred the hard-headed "efficiency" of the Teamsters.

Yet, as the San Joaquin Valley and Salinas Valley seasons were ending in the late fall and the winter harvest seasons began in the Imperial in December, it became obvious that the "Chavistas"—a derisive term used by growers and Teamsters—were winning elections and picking up momentum. For the Teamsters and the growers—whose interests have almost always coincided in the farm labor struggles of the past decade—the results were unacceptable. A search was begun for a new "anti-Chavez" weapon.

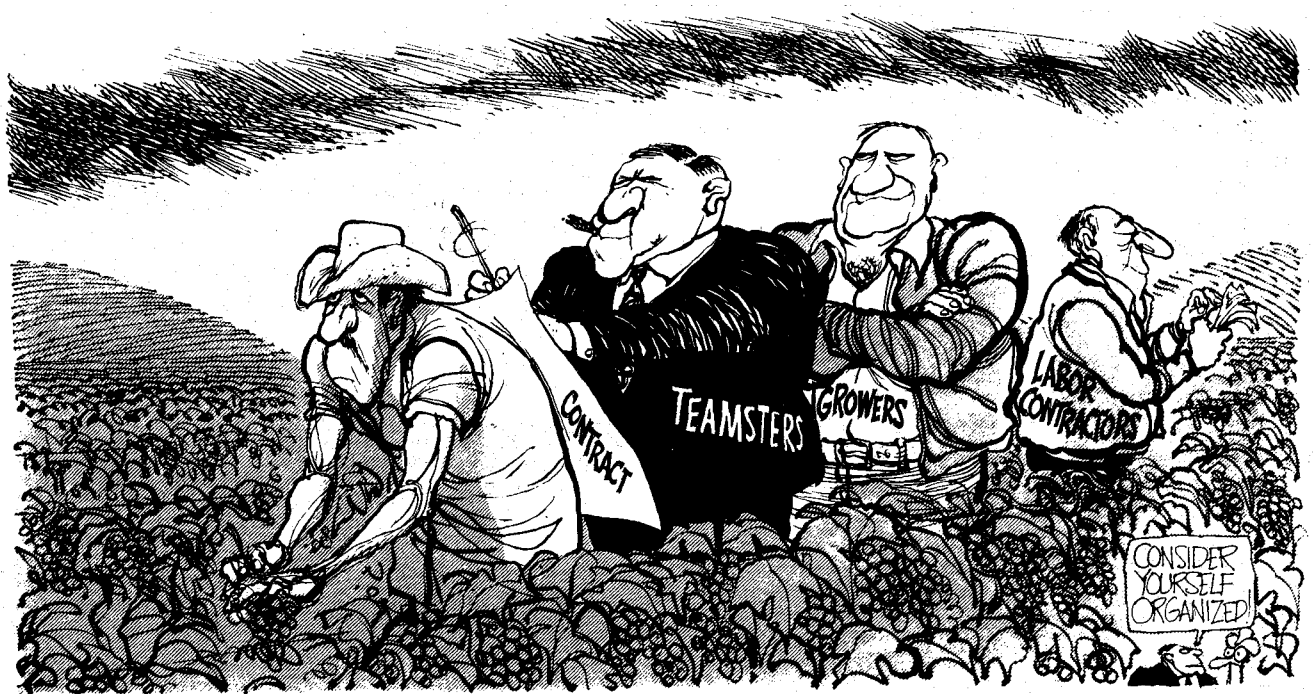
In the past, the farmers when hard-pressed have turned to vigilante tactics, but times have changed and the anti-Chavez forces have now turned to legislative blackmail. The new Agriculture Labor Relations Board and its staff need, right away, a special $3.8-million appropriation from the state legislature to stay in business. As of this writing, it has little immediate hope of getting it.

Led by such agribusiness groups as the California Farm Bureau, the farmers searched out politicians sympathetic to their cause and lined up enough votes to hold the special appropriations bill hostage while they formulated a list of demanded changes in the procedures for field elections. The ALRB, in turn, had to begin notifying its staff that without funding the agency would be out of business by February 6.

For almost 100 years agriculture employers beat back all attempts to organize the labor force. The UFW's success—if survival through a decade of awesome struggle is a measure of success—has come because Chavez took his campaigns out of the farming valleys where farmers control the courts and politics. He took *la causa* to the people of the nation in the form of consumer boycotts, creating a new kind of economic pressure on the farmers. This tactic, and Chavez's brand of nonviolent guerrilla fighting, has pushed agribusiness ever closer to accepting the idea that farm labor would be organized, with or without law.

The UFW strength comes from within the seasonal work force, and like most popular guerrilla movements, it fights best in hit-and-run situations, reacting to what it projects as outrageous events created by agribusiness managers and the Teamsters. Before the passage of the new election law, the battle was waged "in the jungle," without rules or regulations, because the farmers and their politicians had managed to keep farm workers outside the National Labor Relations Act for nearly half a century.

The UFW supported Jerry Brown's candidacy for governor and Brown has since made the creation of a workable farm labor relations law one of his primary goals.



Oliphant, The Denver Post

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This past spring he devoted most of his attention to this end. Working late into the night, he brought farmers, Teamsters, AFL-CIO executives and the UFW together on a patchwork compromise agreement. During the negotiations Chavez, through his general counsel, Jerry Cohen, pushed for election procedures that could start by late summer harvest. The UFW could not wait; it needed an immediate issue to counter the media effort to dismiss its struggle as another faded cause.

In the haste of putting the compromise together, Brown and his staff allowed a lot of problems to creep in, partly through political expediency, partly through genuine ignorance of the complexities of the farm labor scene. Not the least of these problems was the funding for the five-member Agriculture Labor Relations Board and its staff. Brown earmarked $1.5 million in the Agriculture and Services Agency budget for the staffing and a year's operation. As Brown was negotiating his bill, Rose Bird, executive secretary of the Agriculture and Services Agency, was assembling an ALRB staff. She "borrowed" people from other agencies, hired retired National Labor Relations Board bureaucrats; the NLRB's regional counsel, Walter Kintz, was named general counsel.

The law went into effect August 28 and immediately the UFW and the Teamsters began filing petitions for elections. In the first month the ALRB conducted 173 elections in which 24,000 workers voted. The UFW was getting 48 per cent of the vote, the Teamsters 37 per cent; however in total elections won, the Teamsters were ahead 77 to 69 by the end of the first month and the UFW had filed 200 unfair labor practice charges alleging the growers and the Teamsters with intimidation and harassment.

Although Brown and his staff had been warned that both unions would flood the agency with election petitions and that chaos would result, the Governor appeared to withdraw to other things and leave the ALRB to flounder. The woefully inadequate budget was used up within the first few weeks and the ALRB had to seek a $1.2-million loan to stay in business. That money was to carry it through to January 31, by which time the California legislature was to come up with an additional $3.8 million supplemental appropriation to carry the ALRB through to June 30, when the agency was to be phased into the normal budgeting processes.

It was this budgeting process, and the need to get a $3.8-million supplementary budget item through the legislature—a two-thirds vote is required—that gave the Teamsters and agribusiness their chance. If they could enlist the aid of conservative Republicans and farm-bloc Democrats, they could hold the supplemental appropriations bill hostage, and demand changes in the law. The plan was executed, and moved quickly toward a crisis. By mid-January the ALRB was sending notices to the 175 staff members that all but twenty-five would have to be laid off by February 6 if no action was forthcoming. The board also ordered the staff to take no more election petitions, and to wind down its work in preparation for layoffs.

This attack on the law came just as the chaos of the first two months was being ironed out and the elections were running smoothly. *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein, after a mid-December trip into the Imperial Valley to observe the elections, wrote: "There is still confusion, as inexperienced board agents and representatives of the unions and the growers argue over the law and the way it is interpreted," but after that qualification Bernstein reported a greatly improved election scene. He also reported "a growing conviction among the growers and Teamsters that the state agency and its staff . . . are so sympathetic to Chavez's UFW that the law is not being administered fairly."

The key operating provisions of the ALRA are those that allow for elections to be held at the peak of harvest and stipulate that they shall occur within seven days after a majority of the workers on a farm petition for an election.

Because seasonal workers may be on a farm for only a few days before moving to the next harvest, the UFW insisted on the seven-day period. The farmers now want to extend this to twenty-one days. The UFW also insisted that no ALRB pre-election hearings be held because these would effectively delay the election procedures and thereby disenfranchise seasonal workers. Farmers will also change this regulation if they can. In fact, most agribusiness groups now insist they want National Labor Relations Board policy and precedent to prevail wherever they can get such changes made. And they want the legislature to amend the ALRA to recognize labor contractors as employers.

Governor Brown has acknowledged that some changes in the law may be needed, after it has had time to be tested, but he has resisted the growers' attempt to force them into the act by means of the supplementary budget. Chavez, on the other hand, reacted angrily to the grower-Teamster tactics, saying that they had agreed to the compromise law and charging that, now they find themselves being defeated, they want to change the rules. The key issue in this struggle has never changed; the fight is for control of the labor force. Through the labor contractor-crew boss system the growers have absolute control over workers. The UFW, once it had forced the issue by boycott, and signed contracts with growers, set up a hiring hall and union seniority system that took control of the work force away from the growers and put it in the hands of the UFW membership. Workers on each ranch under contract elected a five-member "ranch committee" and these, meeting in convention, set the operating policies for the hiring halls and the UFW administration.

In 1973 the Teamsters agreed with grape growers that if they would sign with the International Brotherhood the big union would allow them to go back to the contractor-crew boss system. There would be no hiring halls. Through the long summer of 1973 the UFW and Teamsters fought a series of bloody battles, and when the dust cleared the Teamsters had "won" all but one of the UFW's grape contracts. The Teamsters administered these contracts—and the earlier lettuce contracts they signed in the Salinas Valley—from the top down. The field workers had no voice in union affairs.

Since success is measured in numbers and dollars, the Teamsters were considered the winners in the struggle for worker loyalty. No one believed the Chavistas could win elections. They were good at boycotts, they bothered and bedeviled wine, lettuce and grape sales and staged rallies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and marches, but the Teamsters were better organized, better equipped for the task—or so the line of thought went. It was easy to miscalculate the UFW's power, for it rests in the barrios and farm-labor shantytowns, in the homes of the workers on the back streets of Delano and Bakersfield and Salinas. Even before the Governor's compromise bill was passed, the UFW had begun its election campaign.

Chavez ordered the boycott staffs home from Toronto and New York and Chicago; organizers were instructed to fall back on the union's basic organizing tool, the house meeting. The UFW reached out to the people where they live and work, talking, explaining the new law. And when it went into effect in late August they were ready.

The first elections were set within a few days, and the petitions kept coming in, five to ten a day. Irregularities in the election processes cropped up; one agent, conducting an election on a Friday, threw the ballot box into the back of his car, went off for a weekend at Lake Tahoe, and counted the ballots the following Monday. Another agent allowed the farm company to supply an airplane and pilot to fly him to and from a distant election site, returning with the cast ballots in the ballot box, to be counted later.

On many of the ranches the polling places were simply roped-off open spaces, or a farm shed. The workers were trucked or bussed from their jobs to the polling place and back again in company vehicles driven by company drivers and often accompanied by company supervisors. The UFW filed more than 200 unfair labor practices, contending workers sympathetic to its cause were fired, that company and Teamster officials were intimidating and coercing the workers to vote either for the Teamsters or, in some cases, for "no union."

Grower organizations also began to voice protests, the election process was not to their liking either; but while the Teamsters appeared to be running neck and neck with the UFW these protests were never pressed hard. However, the general turmoil was disturbing and Brown, again working behind the scenes, created a special task force and ordered it to whip the ALRB and its staff into shape. Sam Cohen, a tough young trial lawyer from San Jose, headed the task force and recruited experienced trial lawyers and investigators to do the job.

Cohen and his staff broke the logjam of unfair labor practice charges, but still the process of resolving the complaints is cumbersome, leaving a lot of frustration in its wake. And, while the ALRB now has conducted 339 elections, it has certified less than a third of them. There are challenged ballots, procedural delays, unresolved policy decisions all backed up before the ALRB and its staff. For example, the E. and J. Gallo Winery elections among vineyard workers was one of the first held and most hotly contested. The Teamsters polled 223 votes, the UFW only 131, but there were 194 challenged ballots. Of this number 130 were "economic strikers," each of whom swore he or she was a former Gallo worker who went out on strike in 1973 to support the UFW against the Teamsters.

The ALRA allows such workers to vote in the elections because of their valid interest; but it has never specifically defined "economic striker," and the Gallo elections are being used as the test case to create that definition. After eleven weeks of hearings and investigations, the issue is unresolved, and is likely to remain so until the current controversy over the $3.8-million supplementary appropriation is settled.

By mid-January it was conceded by most of the ALRB staff and the politicians carrying the appropriations bill that the agency's funding would probably run out before the bill was passed. Sen. Clare Berryhill, a Republican grape grower from Modesto, and Assemblyman Ken Maddy, a Fresno Republican with strong farm support, are leading the farmers' drive to change the law, and both legislators say they have the votes to block a two-thirds majority.

Just how far the Republicans and the farm-bloc Democrats are willing to go to support agribusiness and the Teamsters was impossible to predict as this was written. While it is not difficult to understand the motives, the maneuver is in one sense puzzling. It is difficult to imagine a better *issue*, from Chavez's point of view. Here he is, the man who has opposed farm labor being included in the NLRA (and this was wrongly interpreted to mean he opposed elections), going along with a compromise election effort and coming out the winner. Whereas it is the growers and the Teamsters who are willing to wreck the process if they don't get their way.

Chavez has announced that he has put the boycott staff on a national alert and has said that if the growers want to "return to the jungle" that is where the fight will take place once more. And this time the boycotters will bend the election results to prove their allegations. As one young UFW staff attorney put it, "They [growers] ought to know the jungle is where we fight the best."

The growers' moves against the appropriations bill and the Chavez rhetoric may be feinting tactics as both sides jockey for new positions, but it appears doubtful that the obstruction can be removed in time to prevent a disruption of the elective processes that started August 28 and have been underway in the Imperial Valley winter vegetable harvests. Walter Kintz, the ALRB general counsel, said he feels a full shutdown is inevitable because the legislative process will overtake the deadline. The shutdown, he said, cannot last more than six months, because the agency funding will be picked up in the state's regular budgeting processes for the 1976-77 fiscal year. However the shutdown and start-up will, he said, add $500,000 to the projected $4 million ALRB budget.

Several observers have suggested that growers may also attempt to block this appropriation, keeping the agency out of commission until they can force real change into the bill. Whatever the case, if the ALRB's work is stopped, no matter for how long, it is almost certain that the power struggle will accelerate and spread once more into the marketplaces of the nation. And even after these issues are once more resolved, there are still to come the struggles between the workers and the growers at the bargaining table.

If there is a lesson to be learned in all of this it is that a conflict of such long standing as the struggle between the farmers and their workers cannot be resolved by a single legislative act. The power struggle will continue, either within the confines of the Agriculture Labor Relations Act, or outside "in the jungle," where no law governs the use of power, economic or physical. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Unsettling of America (Part I)

WENDELL BERRY

This is Part I of an essay, the second section of which will appear in the next issue.

One of the peculiarities of the white race's presence in America is in how little intention has been applied to it. As a people, wherever we have been, we have never really intended to be. The continent is said to have been discovered by an Italian who was on his way to India. The earliest explorers were all looking for gold, which was, after an early streak of luck in Mexico, always somewhere farther on. Conquests and foundings were incidental to this search —which did not, and could not, end until the whole continent was finally laid open in an orgy of gold seeking in the middle of the last century. Once the unknown of geography was mapped, the industrial marketplace became the new frontier, and we continued, with largely the same motives, and with increasing haste and anxiety, to displace ourselves —not now with unity of direction, like a migrant flock but more like the inhabitants of a broken ant hill. In our own time we have invaded foreign lands and the moon with the high-toned patriotism of Cortés in Mexico, and with the same mixture of fantasy and avarice.

That is too simply put. It is substantially true, however, as a description of the dominant tendency of our history. The temptation, once that has been said, is to ascend altogether into rhetoric, and inveigh equally against all our forebears and all present holders of office. To be just, however, it is necessary to remember that there has been another tendency: the tendency to stay put, to say: "No farther. This is the place." So far, this has been the weaker tendency, less glamorous, certainly less successful. It is also the older of these tendencies, having been the dominant one among the Indians.

The Indians did of course experience movements of population, but in general their relation to place was based upon old usage and association, upon inherited memory, tradition, veneration. The land was their homeland. The first and greatest American revolution—which has never been superseded—was the coming of people who did *not* look upon the land as a homeland. But there were always various ones among these newcomers who saw that they had come to a good place and who saw its domestic possibilities. Very early, for instance, there were men who wished to establish agricultural settlements rather than quest for gold or exploit the Indian trade. Later, we know that every advance of the frontier left behind families and communities whose intention was to remain and prosper where they were.

But we know also that these intentions have been almost systematically overthrown. Generation after generation, those who intended to remain and prosper where they were have been dispossessed and driven out, or subverted and exploited where they were, by those who were carrying out some version of the search for El Dorado. Time after time, in place after place, those conquerors have fragmented and demolished traditional communities, the beginnings of domestic cultures. They have done it in the name of God, country, and the future. They have always said that what they destroyed was outdated, provincial and contemptible. And they have with alarming frequency been believed and trusted by their victims, especially when their victims were other white people.

If there is any law that has been consistently operative in American history, it is that the members of any *established* people or group or community sooner or later become redskins—that is, they become the designated victims of an utterly ruthless, officially sanctioned and subsidized exploitation. The colonists who drove off the Indians came to be intolerably exploited by their imperial governments. And that alien imperialism was thrown off only to be succeeded by a domestic version of the same thing; the class of independent small farmers who manned the War of Independence has been exploited by, and recruited into, the industrial society until by now it is almost extinct. The most numerous heirs of the farmers of Lexington and Concord are the little groups scattered all over the country whose names all begin with "Save": Save Our Land, Save the Valley, Save Our Mountains, Save Our Streams, Save Our Farmland. As so often before, these are *designated* victims—without official sanction, often without official friends, struggling to preserve their places, their values, their lives as they know them and prefer to live them, against agencies of government that are using their own tax moneys against them.

The only escape from this destiny of victimization has been to "succeed"—that is, to "make it" into the class of exploiters, and then to remain so specialized and so "mobile" as to be unconscious of the effects of one's life or livelihood. This escape is, of course, illusory, for one man's producer is another's consumer, and even the richest and most mobile will soon find it hard to escape the noxious effluents and fumes of their various public services.

Let me emphasize that I am not talking about an evil that is merely contemporary of "modern," but one that is as old in America as the white man's presence here. It is an intention that was *organized* here almost from the start. "The New World," Bernard De Voto wrote in *The Course of Empire*, "was a constantly expanding market. . . . Its value in gold was enormous but it had still greater value in that it expanded and integrated the industrial systems of Europe."

And he continues: "The first belt-knife given by a European to an Indian was a portent as great as the cloud that mushroomed over Hiroshima. . . . Instantly the man of 6000 B.C. was bound fast to a way of life that had developed seven and a half millennia beyond his own. He began to live better and he began to die."

The principal trade goods were tools, cloth, weapons, ornaments, novelties and alcohol. The sudden availability of these things produced a revolution that "affected every aspect of Indian life. The struggle for existence . . . became easier. Immemorial handicrafts grew obsolescent, then obsolete. Methods of hunting were transformed. So were methods—and the purposes—of war. As war became deadlier in purpose and armament, a surplus of women developed, so that marriage customs changed and polygamy became common. The increased usefulness of women in the preparation of pelts worked to the same end. . . . Standards of wealth, prestige and honor

---

Wendell Berry is a poet and novelist who lives in Kentucky. His latest book is The Memory of Old Jack (*Harcourt Brace Jovanovich*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU'LL SEE

The sun makes its own silence.
Through laying on of warmth?
You'll see, the
twigs will gather juice
and burgeon, there'll
be a flowering.
It is then we'll examine
our scars and ask:
Did it really happen—
the terror, the hurling
of obscenity?

Etta Blum

changed. The Indians acquired commercial values and developed business cults. They became more mobile.

"In the sum it was cataclysmic. A culture was forced to change much faster than change could be adjusted to. All corruptions of culture produce breakdowns of morale, of communal integrity, and of personality, and this force was as strong as any other in the white man's subjugation of the red man."

I have quoted these sentences from De Voto because, the obvious differences aside, he is so clearly describing a revolution that did not stop with the subjugation of the Indians, but went on to impose substantially the same catastrophe upon the small farms and the farm communities, upon the shops of small local tradesmen of all sorts, upon the workshops of independent craftsmen and upon the households of citizens. It is a revolution that is still going on. The economy is still substantially that of the fur trade, still based on the same general kinds of commercial items: technology, weapons, ornaments, novelties and drugs. The one great difference is that by now the revolution has deprived the mass of consumers of any independent access to the staples of life: clothing, shelter, food, even water. Air remains the only necessity that the average user can still get for himself, and the revolution has imposed a heavy tax on that by way of pollution.

De Voto makes it clear that the imperial powers, having made themselves willing to impose this exploitive industrial economy upon the Indians, could not then keep it from contaminating their own best intentions: "More than four-fifths of the wealth of New France was furs, the rest was fish, and it had no agricultural wealth. One trouble was that whereas the crown's imperial policy required it to develop the country's agriculture, the crown's economy required the colony's furs, an adverse interest." And La Salle's dream of developing Louisiana (agriculturally and otherwise) was frustrated because "The interest of the court in Louisiana colonization was to secure a bridgehead for an attack on the silver mines of northern Mexico. . . ."

One can hardly help seeing the similarity between this foreign colonialism and the domestic colonialism that, by policy, converts productive farm and forest and grazing lands into strip mines. Now as then, we see the abstract values of an industrial economy preying upon the native productivity of land and people. The fur trade was only the first establishment on this continent of the mentality whose triumph is its catastrophe.

My purposes, in beginning with such a lengthy survey of history, are (*1*) to show how deeply rooted in our past is the mentality of exploitation; (*2*) to show how fundamentally revolutionary it is; and (*3*) to show how crucial to our history—hence, to our own minds—is the question of how we choose to be related to our land. This question, now that the corporate revolution has so determinedly invaded the farmland, returns us to our oldest crisis.

We can understand a great deal of our history—from Cortés's destruction of Tenochtitlán in 1521 to the bulldozer attack on Kentucky coal fields four and a half centuries later—by thinking of ourselves as divided into conquerors and victims. In order to understand our own time and predicament, and the work that is to be done, we would do well to shift the terms slightly and say that we are divided between exploitation and nurture. The first set of terms is too simple for the purpose, because it proposes, in any given situation, to divide people neatly and absolutely into two groups; it only becomes complicated when we are dealing with situations in succession—as when a colonist who persecuted the Indians then resisted persecution by the Crown. The terms exploitation and nurture, on the other hand, describe a division not only between persons but also within persons. We are all to some extent the products of an exploitive society, and it would be foolish and self-defeating to pretend that we do not bear its stamp.

Let me outline as briefly as I can what seem to me the characteristics of these opposite kinds of mind. I conceive a strip miner to be a model exploiter, and as a model nurturer I take the old-fashioned idea or ideal of a farmer. The exploiter is a specialist, an expert; the nurturer is not. The standard of the exploiter is efficiency; the standard of the nurturer is care. The exploiter's goal is money, profit; the nurturer's goal is health—his land's health, his own, his family's, his community's, his country's. Whereas the exploiter asks of a piece of land only how much it can be made to produce, and how quickly it can be made to produce it, the nurturer asks a question that is much more complex and difficult: what is its carrying capacity? (That is: How much can be taken from it without diminishing it? What can it produce *dependably* for an indefinite time?) The exploiter wishes to earn as much as possible by as little work as possible; the nurturer expects, certainly, to have a decent living from his work, but his characteristic wish is to work *as well* as possible—he takes pride and pleasure in his work. The competence of the exploiter is in organization; that of the nurturer is in order—a human order, that is, that accommodates itself both to other order and to mystery. The exploiter typically serves an office, a factory, or a garrison; the nurturer serves land, household, community, place. The exploiter thinks in terms of numbers, "hard facts"; the nurturer in terms of character, condition, quality, kind.

It seems likely that all of the "movements" of recent years have only been representing various claims that nurture has to make against exploitation. The women's movement, for example, when its energies are most accurately placed, is arguing the cause of nurture; other times it is arguing the right of women to be exploiters—which men have no *right* to be. The exploiter is clearly the prototype of the "masculine" man—the wheeler-dealer whose "practical" goals require the sacrifice of flesh, feeling and principle. The nurturer, on the other hand, has always trespassed with regardless ease across the boundaries of the so-called sexual roles. Of necessity and without apology, the preserver of seed, the planter, becomes midwife and nurse. Breeder is always metamorphosing into brooder, and back again. Over and over again, spring after spring, the questing mind, idealist and visionary, must pass through the planting to become the nurturer of

WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE

Holding you in my arms,
I yet held my arms out to you.
Could you not save a little
of what I gave
to give back to me?
Resting with the birds,
I came to wisdom and said:
Eschew the beggar.
Although my arms reach out still,
without knowledge,
more as the open mouth of hunger.

Etta Blum

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the real. The farmer, sometimes known as husbandman, is by definition half mother.

The exploitive always involves the abuse or the perversion of nurture and, ultimately, its destruction. Thus, we saw how far the exploitive revolution had penetrated the official character when the Secretary of Agriculture remarked that "Food is a weapon." This was given a fearful symmetry indeed when, in discussing the possible use of nuclear weapons, the Secretary of Defense (so-called) spoke of "palatable" levels of devastation. Consider the associations that have since ancient times clustered around the idea of food—associations of mutual care, generosity, neighborliness, festivity, communal joy, religious ceremony—and you will see that these two Secretaries represent a cultural catastrophe. The concerns of farming and those of war, once thought to be diametrically opposite, have become identical. Here we have a curious example of men who have been made vicious, not presumably by nature or circumstance, but by their *values*.

Food is *not* a weapon. To use it as such—to foster and legitimatize a mentality willing to use it as such—is to prepare, in the human character and community, the destruction of the sources of food. The first casualties of the exploitive revolution are character and community. When those fundamental integrities are devalued and broken, then perhaps it is inevitable that food will be looked upon as a weapon, just as it is inevitable that the earth will be looked upon as fuel, and people as numbers. But character and community—that is, culture in the broadest, richest sense—constitute, just as much as nature, the source of food. Neither nature nor people alone can produce human sustenance, but only the two together, culturally wedded. The poet Edwin Muir said it unforgettably:

Men are made of what is made,
The meat, the drink, the life, the corn,
Laid up by them, in them reborn.
And self-begotten cycles close
About our way; indigenous art
And simple spells make unafraid
The haunted labyrinths of the heart
And with our wild succession braid
The resurrection of the rose.

To think of food as a weapon, or of a weapon as food, may give an illusory security and wealth to a few, but it strikes directly at the life of all.

The concept of food-as-weapon is not surprisingly the doctrine of a Department of Agriculture that is being used as an instrument of foreign political and economic speculation. This politicizing or militarizing of food is the greatest threat ever raised against the farmland and the farm communities of this country. If present attitudes continue, we may expect government policies that encourage the abuse, by overuse, of farmland. This, of course, is already happening. To answer Secretary Butz's demands for more production—evidently to be used to bait or bribe foreign countries—farmers are plowing their waterways and permanent pastures; lands that ought to remain in grass are being planted in row crops. Contour plowing, crop rotation, and other conservation measures seem to have gone out of favor or fashion in official circles, and are practiced less and less on the farm. This same exclusive emphasis on production will accelerate the mechanization and chemicalization of farming, increase the price of land, increase the overhead and operating costs and thus further diminish the farm population. The tendency then, if not the intention, of Mr. Butz's amalgamation of farming and war, is to complete the deliverance of American agriculture into the hands of the corporations.

The cost of this corporate totalitarianism in energy, land and social disruption will be enormous. It will lead to the exhaustion of the farm land and the farm culture. Husbandry will become an extractive industry; the fertility of the soil, because maintenance will entirely give way to production, will become a limited and nonrenewable resource, like coal or oil.

This may not happen. It need not happen. But it is necessary to recognize that it *can* happen. That it can happen is made evident not only by the words of such men as Mr. Butz, but more clearly by the large-scale industrial destruction of farmland already in progress. If it *does* happen, we are familiar enough with the nature of American salesmanship to know that it will be done in the name of the starving millions, in the name of liberty, justice, democracy and brotherhood, and to free the world from communism. We must, I think, be prepared to see, and to stand by, the truth: that the land should not be destroyed for *any* reason, not even for any apparently good reason. We must be prepared to say that an unlimited food supply is possible for a limited number of people, and that this possibility can be preserved only by the steadfast, knowledgeable *care* of those people. Such crash programs as are apparently contemplated by Mr. Butz will, in the long run, cause more starvation than they can remedy. But "food for the millions" will be a potent battle cry, and it will make serious divisions among us. □

Costs of the 'Spermatic Economy'

THE HORRORS OF THE HALF-KNOWN LIFE: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America. *By G.J. Barker-Benfield. Harper & Row. 352 pp. $15.*

PETER DREYER

Alexis de Tocqueville, viewing "the still empty cradle of a great nation," observed that it was "the idea of destruction, this conception of near and inevitable change, which gives in our opinion, so original a character, and so touching a beauty to the solitudes of America." The *accoucheur* at this national lying-in was the "cold and implacable" pioneer, sequestered in the wilderness with an unusual set of obstetrical instruments—"an axe and some newspapers." Americans of the Jacksonian era aggressively informed foreign visitors that they and their nation were "born to whip universal nature." The concomitant whipping of human nature was taken for granted.

G.J. Barker-Benfield, in an elaborate and far-ranging thesis, proposes that these attitudes were "linked to the way men saw their sexual relations—and their own sexuality." Tocqueville's account of "the uniquely extreme separation of the sexes in America" provides background. It is suggested "that white American men's experience of the increasingly democratic society was one of unrelenting pressure, and that their sexual beliefs and their treatment of women were shaped very largely by that pressure; beliefs and treatment affected child rearing in ways that perpetuated and reinforced the pressure." In America, the author believes, egalitarian circumstances gave the individual male precedence over the family as a cultural ideal. The lone hunter, Natty Bumppo, was strong and free precisely because unshackled by the demands of women and the "heterosexual obligations of settlement." He is, in fact, a bachelor fantasy. "Indeed the frontiersman was largely a creation of the Eastern imagination," says Barker-Benfield. (Goodby, Dan'l Boone and Davy

Peter Dreyer's latest book is his biography of Luther Burbank, A Gardener Touched with Genius *(Coward, McCann & Geoghegan).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crockett, Hugh Glass and Jim Bridger! They are discovered to be merely the reveries of the "metropolitan unconscious.") What it amounts to is this. In democratic society there is a "leveling of fathers and sons." The collapse of external hierarchy leads to a reinforcement of sexual hierarchy. "The terms of social existence outside demanded that the family split along sexual lines." The very absence of barriers outside the home leads to the erection of greater ones within it. "Democratic men's bodies had to be freer of sexual demands." This is an odd, but rather ingenious, argument. It may be noted that it seems to presume the existence of an economy in which you pay for what you get.

Part II of the book switches to very different territory, the triumph of the male obstetrician and gynecologist over the traditional midwife in the early part of the 20th century. "Male domination of parturition is a remarkably American phenomenon, and is an indication of sexual beliefs," the author contends. Here he gives an account of the life and work of J. Marion Sims, perhaps the leading American gynecological surgeon of the 19th century, whom one historian has dubbed the "architect of the vagina." Sims was the pioneer of a number of operative techniques, including pre-Lister cleanliness. According to Barker-Benfield his career represented "the triumph and consolidation of surgical gynecology. At the time of his death in 1883, gynecologists could apply their knives at will to the whole range of woman's being, reduced as it was to sex." This is followed in parts III and IV, which take up the larger part of the text, with studies of the Rev. John Todd, a popular writer of books on the general theme of "what a young man should know," and Dr. Augustus Kinsley Gardner, a gynecologist and author described as "a bridge between medical discovery and Toddian psychology."

It is in these latter sections that Barker-Benfield hits the jackpot.Todd, in particular, with his masturbation phobia and obsession with spermatic retention, is a psycho-historian's dream. He has a "mania for shooting-irons and ammunition of every kind," a collection of tools which he scarcely ever uses but never tires of oiling and polishing, and wonderfully entertaining crazes. He keeps bees, which incessantly sting him, in a hive shaped like the Parthenon, where they die of the damp. In his study, surrounded by "guns, spears, revolvers, gunshells, tools, traps, fishing gear, and a collection of canes and clubs, each of the latter a memento of a male friend," stands the *pièce de résistance*, his "tiny fountain." Of this, wrote its owner,

> I have only to touch a little brass cock, and up leaps the water. . . . It seems as if the fairy daughters of music had got under my glass cover, and were each playing on her own harp. I can think of nothing but pearls dropping into a well, or golden balls falling into cups of silver. With what profusion the jewels are tossed out!

He is too good to be true: simultaneously a vindication of Dickens and Freud. One is frivolously tempted to accuse Barker-Benfield of having invented him.

Sims, perfecting his gynecological surgery on female slaves lodged in the yard of his house at Montgomery, Ala., operating thirty times on one of them alone in the space of four years, and Gardner, with his obsessive fears that female masturbation was causing the decline of the race, offer similar opportunities for special pleading.

It is true that these men (and others) did create a climate for sexual surgery which pruned women like trees: female circumcision, clitoridectomy, ovariotomy or "female castration," hysterectomy and mastectomy flourished. In 1906 it was estimated that there were some 150,000 women in the United States whose ovaries had been removed. But it must be remarked that these attentions were not confined to females. Males, too, suffered redundant surgical intervention, and we find Dr. Gardner complacently noting that the loss of a limb can turn "the fiery, impetuous temper of a soldier into gentleness and peace . . . his after life evinces the moral growth after a physical pruning, as we see fruits in our orchard increased and sweetened by the lopping off of a limb." The element of scientism here should not be underestimated, and perhaps more significant than the male-female polarization proposed are the sadomasochistic deeps of polymorphous perversity. Sexual surgery became a fad with some middle-class women, who actually demanded ovariotomy or clitoridectomy of their sometimes reluctant doctors, and afterwards thought their scars "as pretty as the dimple in the cheek of sweet sixteen."

In his introduction Barker-Benfield defines the "general features" of the male sexual attitudes he is surveying as "men's habits of dividing themselves into mind and body, arranging those parts hierarchically, with the former dominating the latter, and believing that the development of the one had to be at the expense of the other." The enigmatic title is out of *Moby Dick*, and from Melville, he says, he derives the suggestion that "psychological bifurcation, and its geographical expression, had a particular significance for American men . . . the relations between the sexes corresponded to the same split." What is being discussed are the causes and consequences of sexual hierarchy, a phenomenon which is regarded as having developed with unique intensity in 19th-century America, though naturally confined "neither to America nor to the 19th century, nor to Western civilization." The central thesis is that economic life came to be ruled by sexual metaphors, sexual life by economic ones. "Men believed their expenditure of sperm had to be governed according to an economic principle," we are told. This principle

SLEEP, AFTER RAY CHARLES SHOW AND HURRICANE REPORT

A storm named for a woman
was born as a mild
disturbance off Africa.
It broke into interiors

of pianos, blew the tubes
of trees and went
on record with weed
for its whistle. Now, bystanding,

I come down with a blessed
attack of the dance. I am white
trash, brother, one more
basket case. You boss the winds

like nobody's business, but nobody
can bear or see himself. Life is the mother
with murder in her eye, and we
are junked and treasured, every one regardless.

Heather McHugh

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Barker-Benfield dubs the "spermatic economy." It is closely linked to what he terms "proto-sublimation," a "pre-Freudian form of sublimation" expressed, for example, in *Walden,* where Thoreau wrote that "generative energy, which when we are loose, dissipates and makes us unclean, when we are continent invigorates and inspires us."

Yet the author concerns himself exclusively with *male* attitudes. Men have perpetrated these "horrors" on womankind, as on the wilderness which is viewed as woman's geographical analogue. At this rate the "life" in question must inevitably remain "half-known." Women are viewed as reacting only to male initiative. Thus they shrink from copulation "as a response to another male signal: men did not want to copulate because of their apprehensions about the spermatic economy, their need to save the energy wasted in spermatic ejaculation for deployment in the marketplace." But Carl N. Degler has demonstrated that the widespread idea that 19th-century women necessarily shrank from sex—and moreover that women were generally seen in the 19th century as being without sexual feelings or drives—is largely a myth. Degler observes that "historians need to recognize that the attitudes of ordinary people are quite capable of resisting efforts to reshape or alter them" and quotes Alex Comfort's comment that "the astounding resilience of human common sense against the anxiety makers is one of the really cheering aspects of history." One could produce writers of great popularity whose views ran counter to those of Todd and Gardner. (Degler cites Dr. George Napheys, whose *The Physical Life of Woman* had 60,000 copies in print within two years of publication in 1869. Napheys, he says, "was clearly convinced that women possessed sexual feelings, which ought to be cultivated rather than suppressed.") It may conceivably be argued that extreme contemporary views of women as men's helpless victims down the ages are simply the latest installment in the ideology of sexual hierarchy. Perhaps, in his lopsided search for male villains and spokesmen, the author of *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life* is himself a victim of the "spermatic economy"—albeit now stood on its head? □

For thought-provoking ideas, facts and opinions
SUBSCRIBE TO
THE NATION
The 110-year-old magazine still ahead of its time.
See Subscription Offer on Back Cover of This Issue

The Epic of Washington—D.C.

NICHOLSON AT LARGE. *By Ward Just. Atlantic-Little, Brown. 276 pp. $7.95.*

ALAN CHEUSE

Many more novelists than foreign armies have besieged our nation's capital, but few have captured anything more than its outlying districts. Henry Adams, in his novel, *Democracy*, had the first word and, perhaps as much because his subject was smaller and more manageable in those days as by virtue of his talents as a novelist, probably the best word. Dos Passos later gave us a D.C. trilogy, but he was past his own greatest days when he produced it. Gore Vidal tried to re-enact the success of the British in the War of 1812 by lighting up his novel *Washington, D.C.* with incendiary gossip about the Kennedys, but he was merely warming up for the more successful *Burr*. The Trinidadian novelist V.S. Naipaul set a wonderful novella called "One Out of Many" (in his collection entitled *In a Free State*) against the backdrop of the Washington riots, but his characters are mainly aliens. Allen Drury has for years been doing to the capital what Jacqueline Susann did for New York City. Norman Mailer in *Armies of the Night* did for the capital what Norman Mailer has for years been doing for himself.

Since the publication of *The Congressman Who Loved Flaubert and Other Washington Stories* in 1973, the former *Newsweek* reporter and political journalist Ward Just has thrown his hat into this ring. *A Soldier of the Revolution* and *Stringer*, Just's first two novels, focused on Washington characters (an officer attached to a U.S. Latin American Special Forces unit in the former, and a CIA agent behind the Vietcong lines in the latter) but not in the context of the city that spawned them. In *Nicholson at Large*, his new novel, the central figure is a news magazine reporter named "Nick" Nicholson, and all Washington is the stage.

"My magnet city" is in fact what Nicholson calls the District of Columbia when he arrives in 1961 to begin work for the magazine. Young and idealistic, he is equipped with talent, great hopes and a discerning wife named Paula. Writing about himself in that time from the vantage point of a new awareness that we must read to the end of the novel to see him reach, he declares, "I believed I was strolling through the pages of a history book . . . I believed I was at the center of creation. . . ." Nicholson flourishes in the midst of such illusions, moving quickly up the ladder at the news magazine, earning a national reputation. While having become famous for his exposé of U.S. counterinsurgency policy in Vietnam and his exclusive interview with Che Guevara in the depths of the Bolivian jungle, Nicholson, now approaching middle age, is still inscrutable to himself. He has a formidable portfolio of notes about world leaders he has known and

Alan Cheuse teaches literature at Bennington College.

THE RADICAL CENTER

Middle Americans and the Politics of Alienation

By Donald I. Warren

One in four Americans shares a radical center perspective. Warren analyzes who they are, what they believe, the major targets of their grievances, and the likelihood of their political mobilization in this election year. A mine of social research, indispensible for anyone wishing to take the pulse of contemporary America. $4.95

University of Notre Dame Press
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contest For New Poets

"Discovery—THE NATION, '76" has been opened jointly by The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA in New York City and THE NATION. The competition, now in its second year, represents a fusion of The Poetry Center's "Discovery" contest and THE NATION's poetry prize. It is designed to attract larger audiences for young poets through the combined media of publication and poetry recital.

Winners of the 1975 contest were Jean Feraca, Katha Pollitt, Gary Soto and David St. John. They gave a group reading at The Poetry Center on May 12, and their poems appeared in THE NATION of May 17.

Contest Information:

OPEN to poets whose work has not yet been published in book form. Book form includes chapbooks (small editions) and self-published books.

REQUIREMENTS: Ten poems (not more than 500 lines) of original poetry in English are to be submitted.

THE AWARDS: Each of the four winners will receive an honorarium of $50 and will be invited to read at The Poetry Center on Monday, May 3, 1976. Each winner will have one previously unpublished poem printed in THE NATION magazine.

MANUSCRIPT DETAILS: Submit four complete sets of the ten poems, each set securely fastened. Your name, biographical information and information indicating whether a particular poem has been published should not appear on the poems. Instead, a separate cover page should include your name, address and phone number. Manuscripts will not be returned, so please retain a copy of your submission. THE NATION reserves the right to publish at its regular rates any previously unpublished poems.

JUDGING will take place in April; winners will be chosen by judges whose names will be announced after the contest is over.

DEADLINE for receipt of poems: February 9, 1976.

SEND ALL ENTRIES TO: The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA, 1395 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10028. Direct inquiries to Marianne Clay, Assistant to the Director, The Poetry Center.

reams of data about the progress of the cold war; but his marriage has collapsed (although he remains "friends" with Paula who still lives in the District), he has become a stranger to his daughter and the chief quality of his powerful style is its coldness. His favorite playwright is Harold Pinter, master of ambiguous speech, and his emblem, posted above his desk, is the Rubin reversible pattern, reproduced for the reader in the text, about which it is argued

> not without convincing proof, that it is impossible to see both the black and white areas simultaneously as figures. It was maintained that Rubin's figure was startling visual evidence of gestalt with its celebration of form and disdain of fact and detail. A big picture indeed. However, Nicholson perceived both figures simultaneously and had no difficulty doing so. Two profiles described a vase and a vase described two profiles. Ambiguity: no ambiguity. In his journalism Nicholson managed to describe truth and untruth, things genuine and things counterfeit as a matter of course in one situation or human being. It was a redoubtable talent and Nicholson was one of the consummate craftsmen of the trade, a hell of a reporter.

And yet when we encounter him on a steamy hot Washington summer morning in the early 1970s, ambiguity has come home to roost and a hell of a reporter has become a reporter in hell. Disenchanted with his success at the news magazine, he resigns his job and seems to stand on the verge of a new life. But whether his life will be that of a free agent or that of press secretary to the Secretary of State (whose deliciously evil name is Caull) remains an open question. Having been, in his own words, "an excellent witness to the cold war," Nicholson finds himself called upon to work for the very men who created it. He is uneasy in this situation and inaugurates a love affair with Jill McKim, the daughter of a dead and forgotten Washington novelist named Charles McKim whose books "were too intricate for the general reader and not bold or original enough for the serious critics." But since Jill McKim is the spiritual ward of one of Caull's top CIA connections, the affair only takes Nicholson deeper into the world of Washington intrigue and amorality, a realm signified by the chilled vodka and subdued love-making of their weekend at the McKim house on the appropriately chilly coast of Maine.

Then chance intervenes in the form of a traffic accident in New York City in which Paula, Nicholson's ex-wife, who had only recently announced her intention to remarry, is killed. Called away to the funeral by Paula's fiancé, a New York lawyer named Hogan who has high Washington connections, Nicholson puts off his decision about the State Department post and plunges into a round of fierce emotional encounters, first with Hogan, then with his daughter and finally with his own long-repressed feelings about himself and the world. Doused with grief and alcohol, he gives up precious control and thus breaks with the ambiguity of the Rubin reversible pattern and the illusion of self-mastery:

> The four of them moved closer to the grave, where the coffin rested on a portable elevator. The elevator would convey her underground to a four-sided grave. Nick blinked, appalled. It took him a moment to collect himself, then he turned to Hogan.
>
> "I don't want that thing to go down," he said sharply, his words loud as a pistol shot among the whispers.

The disruption of the funeral ceremony is one of Just's finest moments as well as Nicholson's. For if, as Stendhal suggested, politics in a novel is like a pistol shot in a concert hall, deep, credible feelings in a political novel achieve a similar effect of shock.

Unfortunately, *Nicholson at Large* does not sustain throughout its length the intensity of the funeral scene. Despite the reporter's eventual decision to put ambiguity behind him, many problematical moments linger in his story. Does he or doesn't he recognize that while tracking down Che Guevara in the Bolivian jungle in order to achieve his famous interview he may have led the CIA to the guerrilla leader's hideout? The reader is made privy to this irony, but Nicholson's own awareness remains ambiguous. And does he recognize that what he calls his "personal Marxism" merely produces, when he applies himself to an analysis of the policies and policy makers around him, another round of liberal apologetics? Nicholson eventually sees himself as a man who has "severed all connections with those who had a hold on him," having turned down the State Department post, broken with Jill McKim and holed up in a house on the Eastern shore of Maryland to write the history of a single year in the middle of the cold war. But despite his good intentions, the product of his new perspective only reinforces the air of irresolution which pervades the novel. His history, we learn, will focus on neither

> the worst year nor the best. A representative year when things were neither beginning nor drawing to a close. Not a year for heroes or villains either, but for those who'd simply endured.

Here the echoes of David Halberstam's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phrase, "the best and the brightest" seem deliberate. But Nicholson's attitude toward "endurance" seems sentimental and encourages ambiguity rather than irony. Has he in fact broken with the government or has he simply retreated from engaging it in order to take a "moral" position toward its operations? The final scene, a return to the evening of 1961 with which the novel opened, dramatizes quite forcefully a major problem in this narrative. Quite in contrast with its seeming attempt to dispel ambiguity, it encourages the formal appearance of the Rubin pattern which initially signified Nicholson's dilemma. In the end, one wonders whether Nicholson "at large" is merely a man looking about for another master or a truly radical character who is "at large" in the sense that the very society which nurtured him now views him as dangerously free. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Swept Away—All Screwed Up—Seven Beauties: this is the season of Lina Wertmuller. *All Screwed Up* was made before the other two, but the order above, in which they opened in New York, suggests an almost miraculous deepening of creativity. All by itself, Wertmuller's work recalls the post-World War II flowering of the Italian film.

The form of *All Screwed Up*, as I said last week, is that of a stream in spate, rushing through new channels, swirling into eddies, pouring forth again down noisy rapids—the flow of life. *Seven Beauties* is told mainly in flashbacks from a German death camp to the strident street life of Naples. It is a narrative method I don't much like because it heightens dramatic contrast mechanically and calls too much attention to itself. However, *Seven Beauties* transcends a quibble about technique; forget I mentioned it.

Shortly before I saw the film I had been reading Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, where in Part IV, "The Soul and Barbed Wire," he asks rhetorically, can the soul survive in camp? He says it can, that indeed it can grow stronger. However, there is one thing a prisoner must never do. He may determine to survive, but he must never say to himself: "I will survive at any cost." That, Solzhenitsyn warns, "is the great fork of camp life." And a little later he observes that no one is corrupted by camp unless he arrives there with the seeds of corruption within him—an optimistic summation qualified by the author's belief that the seeds are sown more widely than we like to believe, and await their occasion.

That, in a few sentences, turns out to be the subject which *Seven Beauties* investigates. Pasqualino Frafuso (Giancarlo Giannini) is first seen stumbling in confusion through fog-gripped forest somewhere north of the Rhine. He is an Italian soldier who had deserted to save himself from the threatened horrors of the Russian front, and just now he and a companion have escaped from a bombed German prison train. They aspire to flee this veiled and dangerous hobgoblin land; they haven't a prayer. Switch to Naples, some years earlier.

Pasqualino is a slum bully, a creature of greased hair, pinched jacket, snap-brimmed hat and a swagger, with an automatic pistol stuck in his waistband to compel "respect." He is weedy and distasteful, but to a degree that he later confesses surprises even him, he is attractive to women, and not least to his adoring mother. Accordingly, in Neapolitan slang, he has earned the sobriquet of Seven Beauties, a name he uses with complacent conceit. He is an alley tiger when it comes to the honor of his family—a bevy of unpromising sisters—but as his Mafioso "protector" scornfully explains to him, respect and honor require something more than a gun in the belt. Unhappily for him, Pasqualino has nothing else, and the attempt to maintain the image of a bravo from the heart of a jackal propels him through a series of catastrophes to the concentration camp, where we next pick him up.

From the paragraph above on Solzhenitsyn the reader may predict how he fares under the S.S. In the despair of his filth and terror, he recalls that he is Seven Beauties and conceives the insane project of saving his life by wooing the camp commandant, a monstrous female monument of the master race as exterminator (played with stolid ferocity by Shirley Stoler). Of course she doesn't believe his protestations of love, but the recklessness of the pretense astonishes her and she takes him to her quarters. There, standing as solid as a headsman's block, she gives her curt order: fuck or die. And, exhausted, trembling from weakness and fear, revolted by her flesh and his own nastiness, fuck he does. It is a hilarious scene; you almost puke with laughter. And since he is not to die, he is instructed that he now must kill—anything to survive.

Why should anyone be concerned about such a creature? That is Wertmuller's magic. And Giannini's, too; I cannot remember a more taxing film role, or one played with such total submersion in a noisome character or greater sensitivity to the nuances of a narrow but feverish emotional range. The director's purpose, here even more powerfully than in her earlier works, is to make us acknowledge a

FYI to Public-Interested Citizens:

Public Equity Corporation's effective prospectus is now available.

You have undoubtedly read about its development over the past few years.

The offering prospectus registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission describes it: "The Corporation will serve as a unique 'citizens' corporation' to which individuals and organizations may turn for financial, technical and legal assistance to redress grievances of major import. . . ."

PEC is the mechanism through which involved citizens may pool their modest shareholder-interests in a broadly held public corporation to bring about beneficial social changes and corrections.

This information slip does not constitute an offer to sell or the solicitation of an offer to buy any securities of Public Equity Corporation. Under federal securities law, such offers may only be made through the prospectus, which may be obtained directly from the Corporation.

NA1

Public Equity Corporation
Box 361
Larchmont, New York 10538

If further interested . . .
Send a self-addressed stamped envelope for more information.

Or send $1 to cover the costs of printing and mailing the 32-page prospectus:

Name _____

Street _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brother. She does so by embracing him herself, by taking such pains to understand how he became what he is, by never turning her gaze from the awfulness of him, by accepting what she cannot deny. It is not forgiveness she seeks (she could hardly expect it), but something more difficult: recognition. One needs to look again at that passage in the commandant's room. Of the two, Pasqualino is the more revolting; indeed, by comparison the commandant may seem clean. But in fact she is much worse—she represents the very worst manifestation of evil (I don't want to get into an argument here: one can think of evils more sustained and consequential, but Nazism was an unequaled distillation of hell). And yet she, as a bold director and a courageous actress force you to admit, is also of our blood. We accept what we cannot deny. Again, why? Here one begins to depart from film criticism into moral speculation. I'll leave it that *Seven Beauties* brought me back with a jolt to the realization that kinship is not a matter of choice—an acknowledgment that shields against pride and is the basis for judgment. If evil were alien, it would be outside our reach; we can judge only ourselves.

I said just now that Wertmuller is a bold director. What I mean is that she dares to use comedy where any other mode would be too weak for her purposes. And further that she makes horror beautiful. Her Naples is bright and garishly pretty—cheerfully vulgar; but the death camp, gray, misty, scarcely animated by slow legions in seeming ritual, is quite ravishing to the dispassionate eye. I remember, years ago when I was working with photographs of Buchenwald and Dachau, that I was shocked by my appreciation of the compositions into which the dead bodies had fallen. It was foolish of me to be upset, I now realize: the beauty provides a way of relating to the horror; in a sense it defines the horror. You can't deny it and must come to accept it. Thus, Wertmuller. □

RESERVE NOW!

Veterans of the
Abraham Lincoln Brigade
39th Anniversary Celebration
Sunday, February 15, 1 P.M.
Grand Ballroom, Statler-Hilton Hotel
N.Y.C.

Invited Guest Speakers:

MARCELINO CAMACHO
Chmn, Spanish Workers Commissions

JOSEFINA CAMACHO
Leader, Spanish Amnesty Campaign

ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON
Chmn, NY City Human
Rights Commission

MONS. CHARLES OWEN RICE
(labor priest) Pastor,
Holy Rosary Church

Guest Stars! Entertainment!

Luncheon: $15 per person

To reserve, call (3-7 PM) OR 4-5552, or write:
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Suite 239, 799 Broadway, New York City 10004

TELEVISION

PETER SOURIAN

A recent front page of *The New York Times*'s Sunday Arts and Leisure section featured three articles by college professors who examine the veracity of TV biographies of historical figures—Lincoln, the Adams family, Walt Whitman, and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. Is it that professors are beginning to take TV seriously or that editors are beginning to take professors seriously?

TV, at any rate, is beginning to take history seriously enough to invite such scholarly examination (as American movies really never have), and just at a time when students are staying away from college history courses in droves. The BBC has sent us the popular social histories, *A Family at War* and *Upstairs, Downstairs*. Interviews with living yet already historical figures such as one in January of Averell Harriman by Jim Jensen are frequent. Reruns of early newsreels now being presented by Lowell Thomas have the value of immediacy. Then there are all the old films—with the fantasies, fashions, values, speech, of the 1930s, '40s, '50s, '60s—telling their historical truths, however obliquely.

As a result of all this, presented in willy-nilly profusion, the average young person is exposed to more history than ever before in history while being more muddled than ever before. I regularly run into students who have a correct if very general notion of what the French Revolution was about, and are yet perfectly capable of telling me it occurred in 1848.

Along with the perspective, context and mere chronology thus problematically if interestingly confused on TV, exhaustiveness is also important to the study of history. It is particularly important for the study of prominent historical figures, where known facts cannot be slighted and where at the same time truth lies in the sifting of many often contradictory instances of behavior.

Commercial TV cannot be expected to provide such detail for fear of making less than stupendous profits. But what about Public TV? It has used its special powers to give us compelling popularizations of knowledge and culture (notably J. Bronowski's *Ascent of Man*, which made spectacularly effective use of the camera and of color), and elaborate social histories too, where, since massive biographical facts need not be respected, a good story line can be legitimately developed. We should now begin to expect Public TV sometimes to go into scholarly detail. I think it's of value that the camera can show us Hyde Park in detail, letting us see where people sat and walked, even slept—to see for example where poor Eleanor's bedroom was in relation to Franklin's, and where his mother's was (nearer).

The intrinsic illustrative and dramatic powers of the medium then can be imaginatively and even innovatively exploited in such an interest rather than be snobbishly regarded as somehow essentially superficial, innately frivolous. People may be more open to such lengthy programs as might ensue than we now suspect, and with 200 "drop-in" channels newly at the disposal of the FCC the opportunity is there.

Notorious Woman, the seven-part BBC series on the life of George Sand, recently shown on PBS channels, is a case in point. It is a striking mix of good and bad, true and untrue, partly because the complexities and implications of the 19th-century French novelist's life are too rich for the allotted time, and partly because the production's desire to please is sometimes facile, as its title suggests. George Sand was not only and not even primarily a notorious woman; she was primarily the most celebrated and hard-working writer of her time, producing 30 pages every night of her adult life until a few weeks before she died in 1876 at the age of 72.

Yet in spite of all those hours of her life spent in the act of writing rather than in bed with someone, the BBC made little serious effort to relate her work to her personality. It might be argued that this would be difficult on TV. I don't think so. For one thing, apt passages from her novels might have been read aloud (as was the practice in the salons of her day), and then discussed (as they were) by actors in the roles of contemporaries—and perhaps also, for modern perspective and concerns, by guests of Alistair Cooke, who introduces each segment, and finds time enough to compare Sand's looks unfavorably and unfairly with those of actress Rosemary Harris.

Certainly George Sand is a figure worth presenting at length and in depth. Apart from her work, and apart from today's feminist preoccupation, there is the fact that her career encompasses a prodigiously exciting and creative period in European culture—the height of the Romantic era—during which so many of her friends, rela-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions and lovers were pre-eminent: Chopin, Liszt, de Musset, de Vigny, Sainte-Beuve, the actress Marie Dorval, Lamennais, Pierre Leroux, Michel de Bourges, Mérimée, Delacroix, Turgenev, and Latouche, publisher of *Figaro*, to name only a few.

John Stuart Mill said there was "not in all modern literature anything superior to the prose of Mme. Sand." Heine, an unusually sound judge of his contemporaries, thought her a great writer; Balzac took her seriously and so did Henry James; Flaubert, no easy mark, called her a genius. Yet today she goes unread (even by one or two of her many biographers, to judge from their books). The catalogue of the biggest paperback publisher in France lists only two of her nearly 100 books and plays: *La Petite Fadette* and *La Mare au diable.*

That may help explain why we don't read her. Such novels as these two were exalted for decades at the expense of her best work, by Third Republic taste, which delighted in their anti-romanticist yet sentimental pseudo-realism, their prudery, and their politically acceptable treatment of peasant life. *Indiana* with its theme of the unhappily married woman, *Lélia* whose heroine relentlessly pursues the Absolute, and *Consuelo*'s elaborate intermingling of mysticism and psychological insight, all of which were successes in their own time, might find an audience in ours. In *Notorious Woman* they are scarcely mentioned.

What we do get is a good performance by Harris, though she does not sound at all like George Sand who, according to Heine, had a "flat veiled voice." She is also forced by Harry Junkins's script to talk a lot, often in strident aphorisms which may have been written but were never spoken, or at least sound pretty stiff in translation. The fact is that Sand did much more listening than talking, saving her expressiveness for late at night and the blank page.

We also get a superb performance by George Chakiris in the difficult role of Chopin. Heretofore too exclusively known for a role in *West Side Story*, Chakiris has much to do with the sharp improvement in the later segments of the series. He convinces us that he is Chopin and at the same time makes us forget he is playing a dead and illustrious figure. Lewis Fiander is also fine, if too attractive, as Sand's rather decent, dull husband, and so is Sinead Cusack as the daughter you love to hate. Robert Lang as Michel de Bourges, the only serious lover Sand ever had who was not younger than herself, is an especially convincing Frenchman.

The actor who plays de Musset is disappointing and makes one wonder why Sand took him as a lover. De Vigny, who was good-looking, is portrayed as an ugly old fossil, perhaps to stimulate audience sympathy for the putative lesbian relationship between Sand and de Vigny's mistress, Marie Dorval, which the script chooses to capitalize on, though the so-called incriminating letter may have been only a hyperbolic convention of the day.

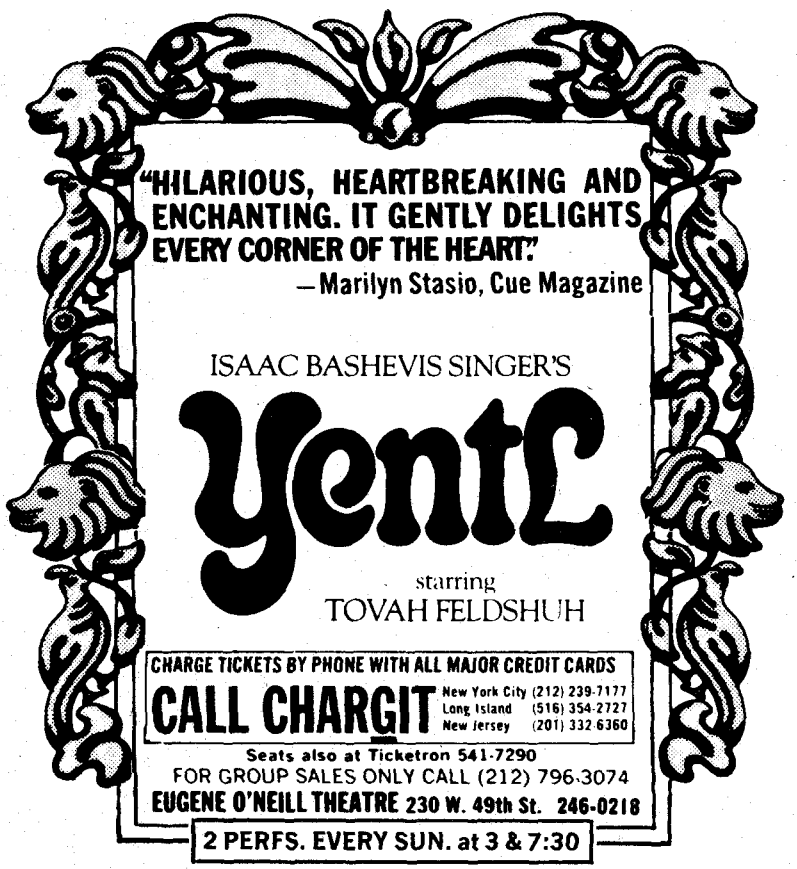
A real star of the production is George Sand's house, Nohant, beautifully and uninsistently photographed, a reminder that color TV and a decent sized screen do make a difference. We understand very well why Sand was so eager to regain the lovely place from Dudevant. When Sand and her son argue socialism with Chopin in the drawing room we understand his exasperated challenge to their self-righteous liberal talk.

As for the French-ness of this English production, it's good on French-style narrow-mindedness, as when Sand disparages the Majorcans to Chopin's dismay; it's tiresome in its English insistence that the French must always be drinking wine, the irony being that the only character who might have been drinking so constantly was the Polish Chopin, since wine was considered a medicine for consumptives.

Despite the shortness of the series, a surprising amount of ground is covered. We see clearly the issues involved in Sand's adoption of male attire; the effects of her grandmother's tutelage are deftly presented, along with the nature of her relationship to her mother; we understand the forces that shape her own children; the Chopin-Sand story is effectively dramatic and, given what is known, which is not everything, it seems as good a version of what happened as another.

There are also distortions. Cooke flatly asserts that George Sand would not have been taken seriously if she had published as a woman, under her own name. It is barely conceivable that there is something to this, though the critics knew very well who the author of *Indiana* was, and the most important ones, like Gustave Planche, to whom she owed much, were ecstatic in their admiration. It is also conceivable that if she had been a man she might have had a more difficult time of it! Would *Lélia* have had its tremendous success if written by a man? In any event, the production implies that this particular disadvantage to women always existed, though it did not, and the resulting direction is toward a kind of coarseness, a *lumpen*-history in the service of current fashion. There were many successful women writers in 18th- and early 19th-century France: Mesdames Roland, Campan, Céré-Barbois, Tastu, de Genlis, Dufrénoy, to name only some of them, along with Mme. Cottin, read by Napoleon and admired by Chateaubriand, whose novels ran to an astonishing dozen editions. As for male novelists, when they were successful, like Balzac, it was always partly because they had sense enough to cater to women readers.

What moves me about the life of this not altogether attractive woman is her search for love and, as she herself said many


"HILARIOUS, HEARTBREAKING AND ENCHANTING. IT GENTLY DELIGHTS EVERY CORNER OF THE HEART."
—Marilyn Stasio, Cue Magazine
ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER'S
YentL
starring
TOVAH FELDSHUH
CHARGE TICKETS BY PHONE WITH ALL MAJOR CREDIT CARDS
CALL CHARGIT
New York City (212) 239-7177
Long Island (516) 354-2727
New Jersey (201) 332-6360
Seats also at Ticketron 541-7290
FOR GROUP SALES ONLY CALL (212) 796-3074
EUGENE O'NEILL THEATRE 230 W. 49th St. 246-0218
2 PERFS. EVERY SUN. at 3 & 7:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

times, traditional love at that. She was an exceptionally gifted woman of strong character, and she needed an equal. Unfortunately, many excellent men, today as well as in her time, do not want an equal in marriage, even when they say they do. When Sand's men were equal intellectually or artistically, they were unequal in that they were psychically infantile. The mysteries in this have interesting ramifications, but they cannot be adequately explored without fuller reference to the works.

And as for the works, and George Sand's glory—as Mme. de Staël once said, "Glory is the dazzling bereavement of happiness." □

RECORDS / David Hamilton

WAGNER: *Tannhäuser*—Act II. Annie Krull, soprano; Fritz Vogelstrom, tenor; Hermann Weil, baritone; Léon Rains, bass. Chorus of the Royal Court Opera, Berlin. Odeon Orchestra; Eduard Künnecke, cond. Court Opera Classics CO-340. $7.98 (mono; recorded 1909).

A few years back, the Canadian Rococo label issued a clumsy but serviceable dubbing of the 1912 Pathé recording of Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette* (*The Nation*, March 22, 1971) that cast fascinating light on the now moribund French tradition of operatic singing. Appetites were whetted for further examples: contemporary catalogues listed similar sets of *Carmen, Faust* and Donizetti's *La Favorite* (originally composed for Paris to a French text). So far, no luck on that front, although the Discophilia series (originating in Munich) has reissued contemporaneous German "complete" sets of *Carmen* and *Faust*, both featuring the not inconsiderable talents of Emmy Destinn, but hardly relevant to the operas' original stylistic traditions (Discophilia KS 1-3 and KS 4-6, respectively.)

More to a point—albeit a different one—is this *Tannhäuser* set, the most substantial Wagnerian recording of the pre-World War I period. The totality is flawed, partly by the dynamic limitations of the acoustic recording process and partly by the fairly dreadful choral and orchestral work; as in the *Roméo*, one assumes the latter to have resulted from the awkward physical circumstances imposed by the need to squeeze all the participants in front of a single recording horn—at any rate, it seems highly improbable that the chorus of Germany's leading opera house sounded like this on ordinary occasions!

The singers, though not unknown to operatic historians, were none of them fabled prodigies of the international class. Annie Krull created the role of Elektra in Strauss's opera, and most of the others turned up at Bayreuth and the Met without garnering any special attention. Yet all have sound voices; they sing words and lines, pitches and phrases with a competence and assurance that a similarly "routine" cast of today could hardly match. And that difference, I think, measures rather precisely what our operatic culture has lost in terms of depth and security, even in the relatively sturdy German tradition.

TCHAIKOVSKY: *The Queen of Spades.* Tamara Milashkina, soprano; Valentina Levko, mezzo-soprano; Vladimir Atlantov, tenor; Andrei Fedoseyev, baritone; Vladimir Valaitis, baritone. Chorus and Orchestra of the Bolshoi Theatre; Mark Ermler, cond. Columbia M3 33828. $20.98 (three discs).

Judging by recordings and last summer's visit to America, the Bolshoi Opera has apparently maintained its tradition in some depth and security. I haven't heard the 1940s Bolshoi recording of *The Queen of Spades* (Ultraphone ULP 141-3, deleted), but the 1950s version (MK 207C, deleted) and the 1960s one (Angel SRDL 4104, still available) form a clear line of descent to the current one. Unfortunately, the recorded performance of the latest state is palpably inferior to what we heard last summer with similar casts, under the direction of Yuri Simonov, whose forceful accenting and canny pacing made far more effect than Ermler's routine time-beating. Still, whatever the individual excellences and defects of the specific recordings, these people all have basically the same idea about how the opera ought to go, what should be sought in performance—and that can hardly be said about the *Carmens* one hears these days on the international circuit—those of, say, Messrs. Bernstein, Karajan, Henry Lewis and Georg Solti.

An interesting sidelight on *The Queen of Spades* is offered by a recent English reissue devoted to all the surviving recordings of Medea Mei-Figner, the first Lisa (Rubini RS-301), who is heard in the last-act aria, a 1901 recording that differs in only one substantial particular from what Milashkina does in the recent Bolshoi sets: in the aria's third strain, Mei-Figner follows the score in not speeding up. This is altogether a fascinating set, and once again one is envious of the British copyright system, which permits such reissues to be done on the above-counter market with care and precision. (In this connection, let me also call attention to Pearl GEM 118-20, a three-disc set entitled *The Art of the Savoyard,* containing "at least one recording by every artist who appeared at the Savoy Theatre under the direct supervision of Gilbert and Sullivan and who also made recordings in the early days of the gramophone." I'm not in a position to comment on what illumination this set brings, for I don't know the tradition's later manifestations, but the contents will surely recommend themselves to G&S enthusiasts.)

Music of Guatemala: The San Lucas Band. ABC Command COMS-9001. $3.49 (mono).

Here is oral transmission of a remarkable kind—a band formed in a Guatemalan mountain village fifty years ago, playing funeral dirges that have been handed down orally ever since (only two of the original band members survived at the time of the recording in 1974). The players' ideas of the music are evidently far removed from those of the now unidentifiable composers, and they have made something very weird and individual out of originals that can be still dimly perceived. A second side, devoted to popular dance numbers, is hardly as enthralling, but the *marchas* on Side One should not be missed; if they sound to you merely like an out-of-tune comedy band, I would venture to say that you are not getting the point. □

Would you like to find a way to keep warm in the winter, stay cool in the summer and drive your car when you want to, without feeling guilty about wasting energy? If so, read:

A SIMPLE SOLUTION TO THE ENERGY PROBLEM

$4.00 postpaid

It tells how you, as an individual, can effectively help solve the energy problem without shivering in the winter, sizzling in the summer and parking your car.

(The entire cost will be refunded for any reason, if the book is returned, to the publisher, within 30 days.)

Fill out coupon and return with check

THE NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 10014

Name .....

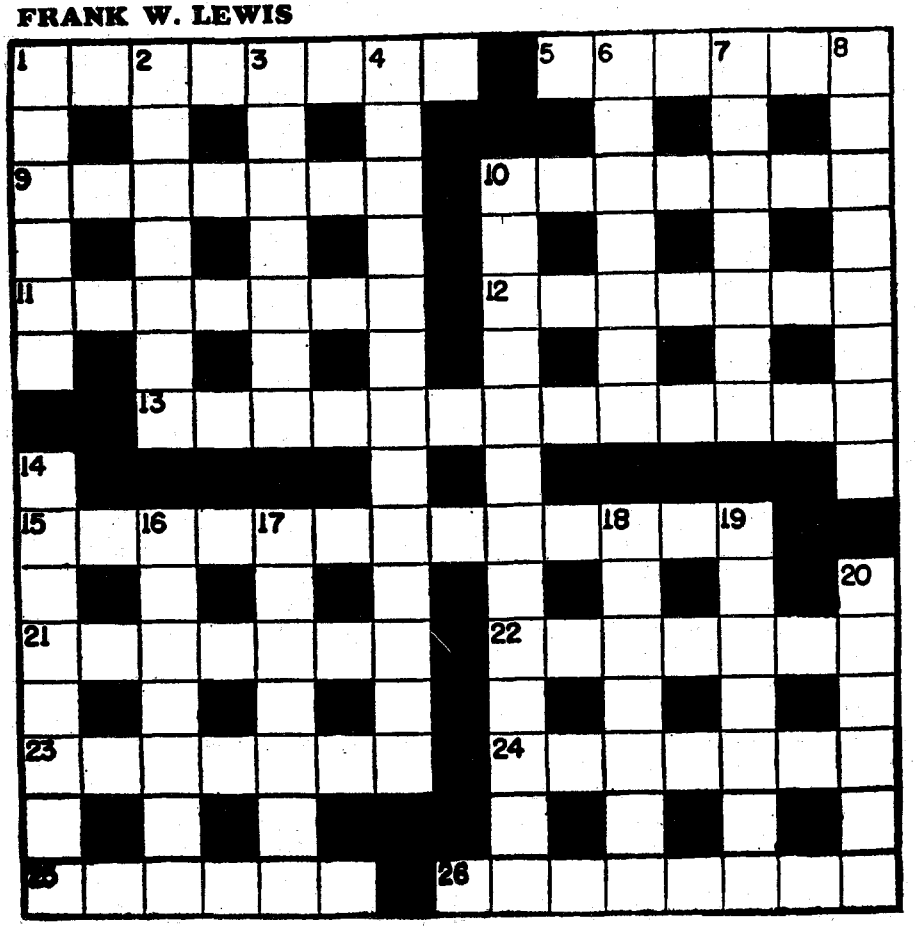
Address .....

City, State, Zip .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1618

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One reason the performance was canceled—possibly of *Crusoe*. (8)
5 Fends off with sticks. (Notes are possibly made on them.) (6)
9 Chief heading the CIA organization, no longer effective. (7)
10 Official who finds there's absolutely nothing in the business of creating monopoly. (7)
11 Tried to learn how to settle the dust when about to perish. (7)
12 Shakespearean wall-hangers. (7)
13 How the unwelcome might be thrown out, but you could check the answer. (3,3,7)
15 You might find it elapse in Straw Dogs, perhaps. (5,8)
21 You'll see it in going west, or on to the city. (7)
22 One absorbs a good deal of the spirit of the occasion. (7)
23 The soil may be turned over, but is not very amenable to treatment. (7)
24 A very low mark given to what Webster might have been doing. (7)
25 The prescribed amount for a riotous sea-god. (6)
26 A dessert that's said to be easily prepared. (8)

DOWN

1 Sounds like Santa could be dependent, perhaps. (6)
2 What's the answer? Give up? (7)
3 Weakening one container with the contents of another. (7)
4 What one doesn't intend to take lying down? Such people might be covered only with extra expense. (8-5)
6 The oldest urn in Greece shows what the lathe-operator is doing. (7)
7 The leading position indisposed to take a possible extract of it. (7)
8 Underlined what comes up as a matter of course. (8)
10 What social aspirants are trying to do at clubs might help one reach the heights. (8,5)
14 One might get off the main track if so treated like a bad boy by some. (8)
16 Puts a point forward, perhaps. (7)
17 The thing a candidate is often found in. (7)
18 A way to hold things, superior to an L-bracket by implication. (7)
19 With transportation coming up, sits awkwardly just to remain in being. (7)
20 Fish-head completely inflexible with cold. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1617

ACROSS: 1 Air conditioning; 9 Trustee; 10 Ruffian; 11 Exempt; 12 After all; 14 Round-table; 15 Germ; 17 Post; 19 Crustacean; 22 Flowered; 23 Elmira; 25 Horatio; 26 Atheism; 27 The Artful Dodger. DOWN: 1 At the drop of a hat; 2 Rouleau; 3 Octopods; 4 Deer; 5 Thriftless; 6 Offset; 7 Imitate; 8 Gentleman farmer; 13 Carried off; 16 Ballyhoo; 18 Scourge; 20 Editing; 21 Letter; 24 Mail.

PUBLICATIONS

READ THE GUARDIAN—newsweekly gives MARXIST viewpoint on national and international news. Special 8-week trial subscription, $1.00. **GUARDIAN, Dept. N, 33 West 17th Street, New York City 10011. (Full year $12.50, student $7.50).**

America's **PANORAMA** — April issue features **MEMORIES OF KING RICHARD OF WERNERSVILLE** by Magi Maxwell; **THE 30 MILLION DOLLAR NOTE** by Lee Holmen; and **WHY BURKE & BURKE WERE BOYCOTTED.** Reserve copy $1.00. **Real New Books, Box 1432, GPO, New York City 10001.**

ADA'S 10 YEAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE VOTING RECORD. For declared and potential Democratic and Republican candidates. Single copy, $3.50. **ADA'S 1975 VOTING RECORD FOR ALL SENATORS & REPRESENTATIVES.** Single copy, $1.00. **SPECIAL BONUS OFFER:** Both for $3.50. Bulk rates available on request. **ADA, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.**

BOOKS WANTED by Women's Prison. Prison Library for Inmates at Clinton would appreciate donations in Astrology, Love, Poetry, Music, Black Fiction, Novels and prison-related. Mail to: **Deborah Benjamin, Librarian, Correctional Institute for Women, Drawer E, Clinton, N.J. 08809.**

'THE PRESS AND THE BAY OF PIGS'

A detailed study by
Victor Bernstein and Jesse Gordon

Single copies—15c; 25 copies at 10c each
Orders over 25 at 7c per copy

THE NATION

333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS: WANT TO BE PUBLISHED? Inexpensive subsidy publishing. **MOJAVE BOOKS, 7040-A Darby Avenue, Reseda, California 91335.**

RECORDINGS

FREE! AMERICA'S LARGEST CLASSICAL CATALOG. Over 2,000 New Stereo Recordings. Renaissance, Medieval, Baroque, Classical, Romantic, Modern Music. Highest quality! Budget Label prices! Available only by mail. **MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932NA, New York, N.Y. 10023.**

PERSONALS

INTELLIGENT WOMAN, 50's, invites discussion on the World Scene generally; also, as it relates to the handicapped and the elderly. Write: **Ms. Herbst, Post Office Box 933, Philadelphia, Penna. 19105.**

SERVICES

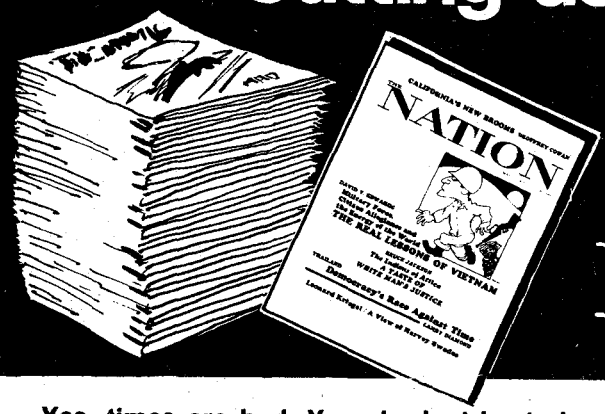
MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

ADVERTISING RATES

Classified: $1.48 a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $14.84 per inch (min.)
THE NATION, 333 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C. 10014
242-8400

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cutting down on weeklies?



Your "best buy" is THE NATION

Yes, times are bad. Your budget is strained. You can no longer subscribe to two or three weeklies. You must decide on only one. Which will it be? One that prints the usual press releases and wire-service dispatches? Or will it be the time-tested NATION that foresees the gathering storm?

For 110 years, the NATION has been America's beacon, illuminating the dark corners others refused to see. Look at its record since the end of World War II.

● 1946 While the media glorified Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, the NATION condemned it as a threat to world peace. What followed? The arms race, McCarthyism, the domino theory, and Vietnam. Now, 29 years, millions of lives, and billions of dollars later, the hope is for detente.

● 1959 The NATION published an article called "The Safe Car You Can't Buy" by a young law student named Ralph Nader. Ten years later, the media stopped scoffing and an industry was grudgingly forced to reform.

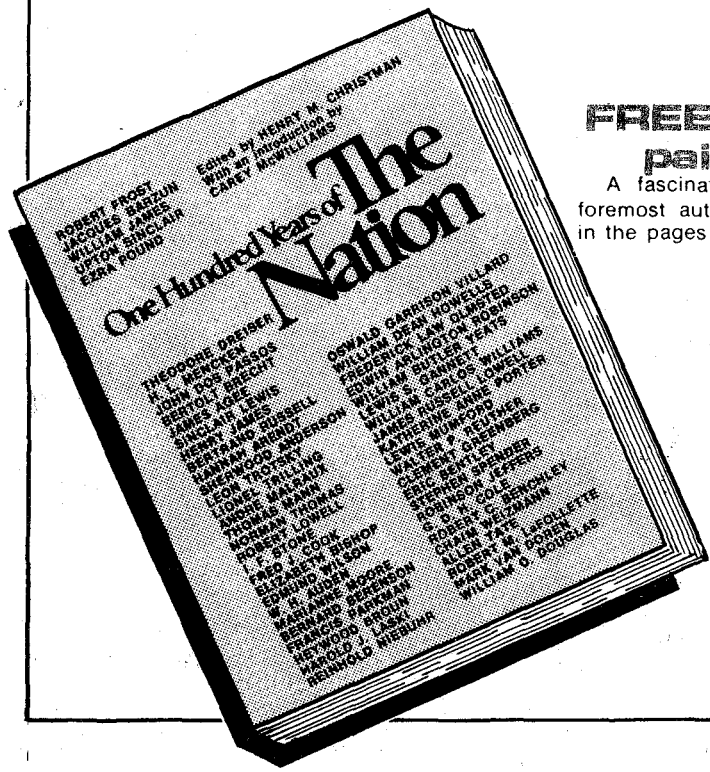
● 1960 A NATION editorial warned that the CIA and the Guatemalan government were training anti-Castro exiles to invade Cuba. The NATION pleaded with the media to alert the public. Dead silence. To NATION readers, the Bay of Pigs fiasco was no surprise.

● 1961 A special issue of The NATION featured Fred J. Cook's probe of the CIA. It revealed facts that make front-page stories today. Congress is finally investigating.

● 1964 NATION editors condemned Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Only two senators voted against it; Ernest Gruening, formerly Managing Editor of The NATION, and Wayne Morse, longtime contributor to The NATION.

● 1974 "The Hot River Valley," a hair-raising study of nuclear power reactors and the Plutonium they produce, caused shock waves throughout the country. Since then, many plants have been shut down, and the Atomic Energy Commission dissolved. The press and the public are now catching on to the dangers that NATION readers feared a year ago.

These are only a few of the highlights. The list goes on and on. Every issue of The NATION contains material way ahead of its time. Subscribe NOW and see for yourself.



FREE BOOK with each paid subscription

A fascinating collection of works by the world's foremost authors, just as they appeared originally in the pages of The NATION.

YES. Please enter my subscription to THE NATION as checked below. I understand I may cancel at any time and you will send a prompt refund for all undelivered copies.

☐ 1 year (47 issues) $17.50 ☐ 2 years (94 issues) $30.00

☐ **Payment enclosed.** Send me absolutely free your anthology, *One Hundred Years of The Nation*, which is mine to keep even if I decide to cancel.

☐ **Bill me.** (Sorry, no books can be sent on billed orders.)

Name _____
please print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

2-7-76

THE NATION 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNE.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED